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THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE URBAN NEGRO MINISTER

by

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Of the foregoing tables, Numbers 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25 are part of the research included in this dissertation. They represent primary data gathered by the author in behalf of the Survey of the Chicago Negro Baptist Church and its Leadership sponsored by the Division of Theological Education and the Division of Home Missions of the American Baptist Convention, the Chicago Baptist Association and the National Baptist Incorporated and the Baptist Convention Unincorporated Conventions. The survey was conducted during the period from July, 1954 to March, 1955.

The original instruments are in the files in the office of the Chicago Baptist Association of Chicago, Illinois and should not be reproduced without their consent or the consent of the author.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Among the current approaches and evaluations of the Protestant ministry, its training, recruitment and performance is a study of its role. Three aspects of the role are being studied: (1) the effects of the shift from an agrarian to an industrial culture; (2) the characteristics of the ministry in historical perspective; and (3) the conflicts in role conception, performance, and expectation. The purpose of this dissertation is to give consideration to those aspects of the changing roles of the Protestant ministry with special reference to the Negro minister in an urban community.

1. THE PROBLEM

The problem of this study may be stated more formally as follows: this is a study of the changing leadership role of the Protestant Negro urban minister concomitant with the shift from an agrarian to an industrial culture using Ideal-type sociological theory as a general frame of reference.

The purpose of the study is: (1) to determine the functional role of the Protestant Negro urban minister; (2) to analyze sociologically the situational pressures upon the functional roles of the urban Negro minister; and (3) to analyze the functional role in terms of the requirements of the urban social structure and especially of the Ideal-type standard of an effective urban leader.

2. THE DEFINITIONS

The definitions of terms used in this dissertation can be grouped as follows: 1) the terms of the title and 2) the terms of the theoretical orientation or the working concepts.

1. The terms of the title. Leadership role refers to the functions of leadership in organizing, and directing human activity that are assigned to the minister as a part of his professional duties. There are other roles usually referred to by the more inclusive term "social roles". The focus here, however, is not on "social roles" but on the leadership role both because of the general fact that this is one important part of the role of the minister, and specifically because it refers to the unique aspect of the Negro ministry wherein the leadership role has functioned as the main channel for virtually all leadership in the Negro community. This feature may be changing, of course, but that is what the study seeks to determine.

Urban refers to the classification of the population by the United States Census Bureau. The smallest urban place is a populated city of 2,500. The largest urban place is the city with a population of 3,000,000 or more. In this study the concern is especially with the standard metropolitan area.

Negro community refers to the sociological classification of the sub-culture of the Negro in American society. It is characterized more by sociological factors than by any fundamental ideological factor. It is primarily a "forced" association, though it may be voluntary in some of its institutional aspects.[1]

Social analysis as used here refers to the method of the treatment of the problem of the study. The primary orientation is sociological, but in view of the nature of the concept of role, social analysis here refers to the social aspects of the developing interdisciplinary work of sociology, social psychology, human relations and social anthropology. The approach is rather broad, as will be indicated in the discussion on method, below. Here it suffices to indicate that the term social analysis as used in this study comprises the "social science" approach, referred to by Stotts[1] in the discussion of methodology of the sociology of religion and is inclusive of several social science orientations and perspectives.

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[1] Arnold Rose accepts Locke and Stern's explanation for group identification. "A minority group, irrespective of size or constituency, is thus best characterized as a social group whose solidarity is primarily determined by external pressure, which forces it to live in terms of opposition and ostracism." Alan Locke and Bernhard Stern, When Peoples Meet (New York: Progressive Education Assoc., 1942) p.465; quoted in Arnold Rose, The Negro's Morale (Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1949), p. 4.

ii. The terms of the theoretical orientation. Ideal-type theory is that body of sociological theory of which Ferdinand Toennies was the classical exponent. It is characterized by a conceptual view of culture and society as consisting of two ideal-typical or configurations of characteristic forms of social organization, with correlated thought-patterns. By definition Gemeinschaft refers to "natural will" and spontaneity. In action motivated by "natural will" it is difficult to distinguish end or goal from the means. Groups with Gemeinschaft orientation have a "natural will" motivation that may be sacred, traditional, spontaneous and/or emotional. This contrasts with Gesellschaft which is characterized by "rational will", where relationships and orientations are rational, secular, efficient, and planned. Both typological constructs have similar authority patterns which may be authoritarian, fellowship or democratic. The patriarchal family illustrates the Gemeinschaft authority pattern; the government, the Gesellschaft.[2] These terms have been used to denote both total societal types and particular sectors of social action. In this study other Ideal-type terms will be used interchangeably such as Gemeinschaft, "rural", "folk", and "sacred" on the one hand, and Gesellschaft, "urban", "secular" on the other.

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[1] H. E. Stotts, An Introduction to Sociology of Religion (Denver: Wesley Press, 1955).

[2] Charles Loomis and J. Allan Beegel, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 784.

The use of Ideal-type concepts of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft to denote societal or community types is relevant to some of the terms of leadership role typology used in this study. Stotts discussed the leadership roles not in terms of the leader but rather in terms of the role. Leadership is classified in four major categories: crescive, enacted, symbiotic and crisis. Crescive leaders are "apex individuals who embody faithfully the mores, aspirations and community-approved facade of the institutions which they represent.."[1] Enacted leaders are "individuals whose directive relationship to the institutions in which they participate is categorical rather than sympathetic and whose function is specific rather than diffuse."[2] Symbiotic leaders are "those persons elected by the institutions as leaders in lieu of more clearly qualified and/or acceptable group-reflecting persons."[3] Crisis leaders are those who respond to pressures and incidents which are not the conscious and purposive product of the institution they affect.[1]

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[1] H. Stotts, Introduction to Sociology of Religion. p. 329.

[2] Ibid., p. 339.

[3] Ibid., p. 355.

In the complex of roles there may be those which are ascribed, assumed, symbiotic or crisis. Ascribed roles are those typological constructs which are socially predetermined. Assumed roles are characterized by self initiated acts where the wishes of the actor tends to prevail. Symbiotic roles are characterized by peacemaking activity. Crisis roles refers to prescience in time of emergencies or in time of need. Any particular person's leadership is made up of many roles which he must play in order to be acceptable to his group.

The final group of terms to be defined are those included in the statement of the hypothesis. The terms manifest and latent focus on the words "intention" and "recognition" in social analysis. Manifest is defined for this study as the factors recognized by individuals: latent refers to those factors not recognized by individuals. The term necessities, which is used in connection with the latent analysis, refers to those aspects of social and physical reality to which some type of adjustment must be made. Necessities are used to describe what is meant by the terms "functional and structural requisites" in sociological literature.[2] Functional requisites pose the question of "what must be done?" Structural requisites pose the question "how must what must be done, be done?" These two questions are raised in terms of the urban community as a point of reference and in this context an attempt is made to evaluate the leadership role of the urban Negro ministry.

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[1] Ibid., p. 358.

[2] Marion J. Levy, The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 64.

3. THE HYPOTHESIS

In order to analyze the problem of Negro urban leadership in a manner that is both empirically and analytically adequate, the conceptual framework of Ideal-Type theory is utilized. Within the conceptual framework of this theory, the following proposition is relevant to our inquiry: "the lesser the homogeneity of a culture (or the greater the heterogeneity), the lesser the organization (or the greater the disorganization)".[1] From this may be derived the central contention of this study, which is as follows:

> When an American ethnic group in a free religious structure, actively migrates from a folk, Gemeinschaft social structure to an urban, Gesellschaft social structure, its religious leadership role will lack manifest clarity in image and expectations. In terms of latent analysis it will be related to the situational pressures or necessities of all social relations and institutional life in the urban social structure.

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[1] Herbert W. Passim and John W. Bennett, "A Changing Agricultural Magic in Southern Illinois: A Systematic Analysis of Folk-Urban Transition." Social Forces 22 (1943-1944), p. 98.

The specific corollaries of this hypothesis are as follows: 1) The ministerial leadership role will in its early stages be more closely related to Gemeinschaft characteristics because the urbanization of the Negro community involved represents a transplanted folk culture. 2) The role images and role expectations will reflect this urban-folk conflict and in doing so will lack role clarity. 3) The impact of urbanization upon the social characteristics of the Negro community will create a situation in which the needs for trained leadership become acute. 4) The institutional arrangement of the Negro church in becoming urbanized will have gained independence and the Negro church will require a type of organization compatible with institutionalized ecumenical Christianity. 5) An analysis of the Negro churches in Chicago reflects this fourfold sociological condition. For reasons to be noted later the situation in Chicago may be taken to be representative of the Negro situation as a whole, for the purposes of this study.

4. THE METHODOLOGY

Ideal-Type theory is used as a frame of reference. It will serve (1) to interpret the presentation of sociological data in rural-urban terms; (2) to interpret the basic orientations of both the Negro community and the institutional arrangement of the Negro church; and (3) to give the data greater meaning by being a means of comparison with other data.

In order to examine the stated hypothesis the following methods of social research are used: (1) a review of the literature in the field in order to secure the demographic data, historical data and relevant sociological theory, and (2) participant observation and personal interviews as a minister and also as a director of a field study of the Negro Baptist church leadership in Chicago, Illinois.

In order to analyze the leadership in terms of the Ideal-Type sociological theory the following approach is undertaken: (1) classification of demographic and population data by rural-urban variations by size of place utilizing the recent study by Duncan and Riess. (2) classification of leadership types and roles by ideal type Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft poles as suggested by Stotts. (3) analysis of the situational pressures or necessities in terms of Stotts' suggested characteristics of Gesellschaft institutions with special reference to the urban church.

5. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This study will attempt to make an exploratory analysis of the leadership role of the Protestant Negro urban minister. This contrasts with any comprehensive treatment due to the facts that 1) the field study was actually exploratory, and 2) this dissertation is developed essentially by means of an interpretative body of theory and is thereby ex post facto analysis. Furthermore, this study is limited to a sociological approach to the analysis of the leadership role. The dissertation does not attempt to exhaust the psychological implications of the problem. While some attention will be given to self-images, the main focus is upon the situational or the sociological factors to which these self-images are related.

We are limited to the Negro Baptist ministers in Chicago, Illinois, a northern urban community. The reference in the title to the urban Negro minister is based on the assumption that because of the large number in the Negro Baptist ministry, their characteristics tend to be representative of the total Negro Protestant ministry. Moreover, in view of the current fact that the Baptist denomination has in its membership approximately half of the total Negro Protestant church population in the United States, this study assumes that the expectations of the Negro ministry by the Negro laymen is representative.

It is recognized that there are limitations in exploratory study and interpretative analysis. Moreover, it is further recognized that the use of open-ended schedules tends to limit the objectivity of the reporting of the field interviews with the ministers and the laymen. However, the interpretative theory chosen appears to be adequate to the task of accounting for the dynamic process of urbanization involved in the problem as well as being analytically suggestive for description and analysis of the ministerial and lay role images and expectations. It is felt that this attempt to interpret the field experience in terms of systematic theory serves to approximate, to a significant extent, the requirements of objectivity.

6. PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters the first of which states the problem, definitions, hypothesis, methodology, scope and limitations and plan of development. Chapter II presents the demographic and ecological factors relevant to the urbanization of the Negro community in the United States and in Chicago, Illinois. The purpose of this chapter is to indicate the extent to which changing social characteristics modify the social structure and its systems of leadership roles. The assumption of the presentation of demographic data on the Negro community is that the Negro Church, and therefore its ministry, is a fundamental expression of the Negro community in the United States. The task of chapter III is to present the Negro minister in historical perspective with particular reference to the historical and contemporary impact of urbanization upon the church as an institution and upon the ministry as a profession. This chapter attempts to treat that part of the hypothesis which describes Negro leadership as being located in a free religious structure and indicates the manner in which the institution defines the role and contributes to the definition of its office.

The task of the following two chapters, IV and V, is to report some of the findings of the Chicago field study. Chapter IV reports the characteristics of the Negro Baptist ministers in Chicago. Chapter V analyses the conceptions and expectations of the ministers and selected Baptist laymen, thus testing that part of the hypothesis which asserts that the role will manifest lack of clarity.

Chapter VI serves an evaluative purpose. It seeks to conceptualize the characteristics of the urban community as being translated into institutional and professional requirements or necessities which affect the system of leadership roles of any organization. In this chapter an analysis is made of the extent to which the situational pressures and their consequences are recognized by both ministers and laymen. In addition an appraisal is made of the capacity of the ministerial leadership to measure up to the emergent needs. This chapter, stated in terms of our hypothesis, attempts to indicate the latent aspects of the situations to which the Negro minister will have to adjust.

Chapter VII lists the conclusions in terms of the original hypothesis.

CHAPTER II

THE URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The purpose of this chapter is to combine rural and urban data in depicting Negro urbanization. Since our hypothesis refers to a migration from a folk, Gemeinschaft community to an urban, Gesellschaft community, a classification of demographic data in terms of a continuum from the smallest rural place to the largest urban place is important. Discussing rural-urban differentials concerning the Negro migration and urbanization, is in essence, discussing the difference between a folk, Gemeinschaft and an urban, Gesellschaft community. Therefore the descriptions of the ideal-type folk society and the ideal-type urban society are included.

The three main points of interest in this chapter may be summarized as: 1) the nature of the Negro urbanization with respect to the national and regional population distribution, concentration in cities, and occupational status; 2) the nature of this occupational status relative to white population and relative to the rural-to-urban variations; and 3) the nature of selected social characteristics within the metropolitan community of Chicago, Illinois and its urban fringe.

1. IDEAL-TYPE FOLK-AGRARIAN SOCIETY

In order to structure the urbanization process, it is necessary to identify the ideal-typical patterns of the polar types. Although there are various subcultural variations, especially in the United States complex society, this is the only way to obtain the type of order needed for functional analysis. Hertzler, in his recent sociology text, Society in Action[1] has included a description of the ideal folk and urban societies. The discussion that follows relies primarily upon his delineation.

The ideal-typical folk-agrarian society is characterized as follows: (1) "isolated communities", (2) "intimate communication among members", (3) "sense of solidarity", (4) "relative homogeneity", (5) "local economic self-sufficiency", (6) "the family as the basic unit of social mobility", (7) "mainly informal control".

2. IDEAL-TYPICAL MODERN INDUSTRIAL-URBAN SOCIETY

Broad aspects of this society are (1) "development of technology"; (2) "major transforming processes derived from recent technological advances". Specific characteristics of an interrelated nature are (a) "manifold impersonal relationships"; (b) "spatial mobility"; (c) "heterogeneity of population"; (d) "division of labor, specialization of functions, and diversification of interest"; (e) "multiplicity of special-interest groups"; (f) "interdependence"; (g) "social mobility, social distance and social ignorance"; (h) "secularization and anomie"; (i) "formal, deliberately organized social control"; (j) "societal operation through large-scale formal organization"; (k) "the state as the over-all service organization"; (l) "the family as mainly a unit of reproduction and consumption"; and (m) "regionalization".

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[1] J. O. Hertzler, Society in Action (New York: The Dryden Press, 1954), pp. 28-29.

3. SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-WHITE POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES, 1950

i. Source. Data for the national picture of characteristics of the non-white population by community size is taken from a recent volume in the Census monograph series.[1] The volume exploits the data resulting from the 1950 Census new procedures in improving community units by which the population data could be tabulated. These refer to the delineation of standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and unincorporated places of 1,000 inhabitants or more. The result of this delineation has contributed to the usefulness of census data for research on community structure. Duncan and Reiss[1] in the introduction of their monograph make the following comment on urbanization:

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[1] Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956).

> The steady progress of urbanization is the cardinal fact about the evolution of community structure in the United States. The difference in level of urbanization is a major factor differentiating one community or region from another. In our view the concepts urban and rural can be defined only in relative terms. This means that the fruitful study of either type of community demands attention to the reciprocal role of the other...One should not misconstrue the emphasis on urbanization in the monograph as reflecting a failure to recognize the importance of rural communities in the national economy. Rather it represents an effort to provide a common perspective to the study of these polar types of community in cognizance of the realities of social change.

The authors further indicate that while they cannot fully endorse some conceptions of the rural-urban continuum the evidence available clearly indicates the absence of a sharp dividing line between urban and rural communities "either in spatial terms, or in terms of community size and functional specialization."[2]

ii. Race-nativity distribution. Table 1 indicates the distribution by percentage of the population in each size-of-place group for the categories of four race-nativity persons. Interest here centers on the Negro population, but the distribution of the total population is listed

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1. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

2. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

TABLE 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RACE AND NATIVITY, BY SIZE OF PLACE: 1950

Size of Place	All Classes	White		Negro	Other races
		Native	Foreign born		
Urbanized areas:					
3,000,000 or more	100.0	74.7	16.4	8.4	0.5
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	100.0	76.9	10.7	12.0	0.4
250,000 to 1,000,000	100.0	82.4	6.3	11.1	0.2
Under 250,000	100.0	83.5	6.6	9.7	0.2
Places outside urbanized areas:					
25,000 or more	100.0	85.7	5.1	9.0	0.2
10,000 to 25,000	100.0	86.7	4.5	8.6	0.2
2,500 to 10,000	100.0	87.5	3.9	8.3	0.3
1,000 to 2,500	100.0	88.9	3.8	7.0	0.3
Under 1,000 (incorporated)	100.0	91.6	3.0	5.2	0.2
Other rural:					
Nonfarm	100.0	86.6	3.6	8.9	0.9
Farm	100.0	83.1	2.3	13.8	0.8

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 5, Chapter A, Characteristics by Size of Place, Table 1.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 59.

because of the cultural implications. It should be noted that in the largest urbanized areas only three-quarters of the population is native white as compared with nine-tenths in the "farm" category. The foreign-born and Negro groups are largely urbanized, with the foreign-born distribution directly related to size of place. The Negro population has the largest proportion in the 1 to 3 million community size, or 12 percent, diminishing to approximately 5 percent as community size decreases. The Negro population proportion is largest in the "other rural-farm" areas, or 13.8 percent.

The high percentage of Negroes in the "other rural-farm" areas can be seen as a function of its regional concentration when examination is made of Table 2. The largest urbanized areas in the country as a whole have smaller proportion of Negroes than do the next five size-of-place areas essentially because the South has no urbanized place of over 3 million inhabitants. It is significant to the comprehension of the extent of Negro urbanization to note that in all non-southern regions, places of 3 million or more have larger percentages of Negroes than any of the size of place groups except areas of 1 to 3 million. The Negro proportion is directly related to size of place in each region.

It is helpful to note the urbanization of the Negro

TABLE 2

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, BY U. S. TOTAL AND BY REGIONS, BY SIZE OF PLACE: 1950

Size of Place	United States	North-east	North Central	South	West
Urbanized areas:					
3,000,000 or more	8.4	8.0	11.8	...	5.4
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	12.0	9.0	12.9	22.2	6.8
250,000 to 1,000,000	11.1	2.8	7.8	21.4	2.8
Under 250,000	9.7	2.9	4.2	22.6	2.7
Places outside urbanized areas:					
25,000 or more	9.0	2.0	3.4	21.6	2.2
10,000 to 25,000	8.6	2.5	2.6	20.8	1.5
2,500 to 10,000	8.3	1.6	1.3	19.6	0.8
1,000 to 2,500	7.0	1.4	0.8	18.0	0.5
Under 1,000 (incorporated)	5.2	0.7	0.4	16.2	0.5
Other rural:					
Nonfarm	8.9	1.8	1.6	18.6	1.4
Farm	13.8	0.7	0.5	26.1	0.5

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 5, Chapter A, Characteristics by Size of Place, Table 6 and Table 1.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 59 and p. 60, Tables 9 and 10.

population not only in the cross-sectional picture by community size and regional distribution in 1950, but also in time. Table 3 reveals the distribution pattern by region and rural-urban residence 1900-1950.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION BY REGION AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, 1900-1950

	1900	1920	1940	1950[a]
South[b]	90%	85%	77%	68%
Rural	74	64	49	35
Urban	16	64	28	33
Other Regions	10%	15%	23%	32%
Rural	3	2	2	2
Urban	7	13	21	30
Total Rural	77%	66%	51%	37%
Total Urban	23%	34%	49%	63%

Source: Ginzberg, E., The Negro Potential (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 15.

[a] Because of a change in the census definition of urban between 1940 and 1950, these figures are not exactly comparable with earlier data.

[b] Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, D.C., West Virginia.

There were 15 million Negroes reported in the 1950 census. Table 3 shows that slightly more than one third were living in the rural South, one third in the urban South and slightly less than one third in cities outside of the regional South. In 1900 less than one fourth of the Negroes lived in cities while the white population constituted approximately two-fifths of residents in the city. Migration, however, changed this picture and by 1950 the Negro population in the urban places was over three fifths. The urbanization of the Negro, consequently, is at the present about equal to the native white, and in terms of time-period it has proceeded in increasing proportion.

iii. Suburbs and urban fringe. Another important aspect of the urbanization of the Negro community concerns the extent of distribution in central cities and suburbs. Information on this point will be indicative of the extent of urban concentration.

Particular note should be taken of the fact in Table 4 that the proportion of Negroes in central cities is nearly three times that in the suburbs--12.6 as compared with 4.5 percent. Duncan and Reiss explain,

> This difference doubtlessly reflects a typical pattern of migration of nonwhites to the central portions of urban areas, the residential segregation of nonwhites, and socio-economic differences between central cities and suburbs.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 122.

TABLE 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RACE AND NATIVITY, FOR CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBS OF URBANIZED AREAS: 1950

Race and Nativity	Total Area	Central Cities	Suburbs and urban fringe
All Classes	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native white	78.9	75.9	86.2
Foreign-born white	10.5	11.1	9.1
Negro	10.2	12.6	4.5
Other races	0.4	0.4	0.2

Source: Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, p. 122.

The direction into which the analysis of this data should fall in relation to the roles of the urban ministry can be broadly indicated by a question. In the light of the comparative predominance of native whites with decreasing size of place, what will happen to the predominantly Protestant Negro community in the light of its centralization in central cities? What does this centralization involve with respect to leadership by both the white and the Negro ministry?

iv. Occupational distribution. An important factor in the urbanization process is the extent of occupational change and distribution. Table 5 shows the distribution percentages of employed nonwhite persons by major occupational group, by sex and by size of place. One significant

TABLE 5

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE EMPLOYED PERSONS BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX, BY SIZE OF PLACE:1950

Size of Place and Sex	Total[1]	Occupations									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10[2]
MALE											
Urbanized area:											
1.......	100.0	3.4	4.6	8.8	2.6	11.3	26.7	1.5	21.3	17.8	0.6
2......	100.0	2.8	3.1	7.2	2.0	10.6	26.1	1.2	18.7	26.1	0.4
3......	100.0	2.6	2.9	3.7	1.4	9.7	24.9	1.3	21.6	30.2	0.5
4......	100.0	2.8	3.2	2.4	1.6	10.4	25.2	1.3	20.0	30.4	1.4
Outside Urb.area:											
5......	100.0	3.4	3.2	1.6	1.2	10.0	23.5	1.7	22.4	29.5	2.1
6......	100.0	3.7	2.8	1.4	1.5	10.0	27.0	1.7	16.4	29.6	4.3
7......	100.0	3.3	2.0	1.1	1.3	9.2	25.5	1.7	14.4	30.8	9.5
8......	100.0	2.8	2.1	1.0	0.7	8.8	29.8	0.9	8.9	30.0	13.7
9......	100.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.1	6.1	20.7	1.0	4.5	31.7	27.8
Other rural:											
10......	100.0	2.1	1.3	0.9	0.6	6.4	21.5	1.0	5.9	30.7	27.9
11......	100.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.2	5.0	0.2	0.6	6.1	85.2
FEMALE											
Urbanized area:											
1	100.0	4.7	1.5	9.1	1.8	1.3	31.5	31.9	14.9	1.7	0.3
2	100.0	5.5	1.2	10.2	1.9	1.0	18.6	34.9	23.1	2.0	0.2
3	100.0	5.2	1.7	3.7	1.7	0.7	13.6	42.7	27.6	1.7	0.2
4	100.0	5.6	1.5	2.9	1.2	0.4	13.2	47.4	24.2	1.6	0.5
Outside Urb.area:											
5	100.0	6.0	1.6	2.3	1.1	0.6	10.8	50.4	24.3	1.2	0.8
6	100.0	7.1	1.5	1.7	1.7	0.4	10.8	52.7	19.2	1.2	2.4
7	100.0	7.9	1.6	1.2	1.2	0.3	9.0	55.7	16.9	0.9	4.0
8	100.0	8.0	2.0	1.1	0.8	0.1	6.8	57.0	16.3	1.0	5.3
9	100.0	6.0	2.0	0.8	1.0	0.2	5.3	57.9	11.7	1.7	11.5
Other rural:											
10	100.0	5.3	1.5	1.1	1.3	0.2	9.1	47.1	13.2	1.6	17.2
11	100.0	4.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	...	2.7	17.9	3.6	0.5	66.7

[1] Includes persons with occupation not reported.

[2] Includes "Farmers and farm managers" and "Farm laborers and foremen".

Codes for Occupations:

1. Professional, technical and kindred workers
2. Managers, officials, and proprietors, exc. farm
3. Clerical and kindred workers
4. Sales workers
5. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers
6. Operatives and kindred workers
7. Private household workers
8. Service workers, exc. private hshld.
9. Laborers, except farm and mine
10. Farm occupations

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol IV, Special Reports, Part 5, Chapter A, Characteristics by Size of Place, tables 5 and 5a.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950(New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,1956).p.100.

contrast in the data is that between the sexes. A striking increase in percentage of females with occupations as private household workers is noted as one goes from the metropolitan areas, the largest (3 million or more) to the villages. The percentage is from 32 to 58. By contrast a rise is noted in employment of females as operatives and kindred workers, the percentage increase, by size of place from the village (1,000) to the largest urbanized area being 5 to 31. Obviously employment opportunities for nonwhite females other than domestic work are more favorable as one rises from the rural to the urban areas.

Duncan and Reiss[1] treat the comparative status of the white and nonwhite in occupational distribution by means of the index of dissimilarity. The index of dissimilarity is computed for the total occupational range. It is derived by taking each occupational category and determining the per cent of non-overlapping. The higher the per cent, the more dissimilar the job for any sex or nativity group. For instance in Table 6 it is noticed that the index of dissimilarity for white versus nonwhite occupations on the farms (the smallest size of place) for the male, is 14.7. This means that the jobs of the whites and Negroes are more alike or less dissimilar. This indicates that both the Negro and

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[1] Ibid., p. 99.

TABLE 6

INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY FOR WHITE VERSUS NONWHITE OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTIONS, BY SEX, BY SIZE OF PLACE, FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH: 1950

(Incomputing the index, "Farmers and farm managers" was treated as a distinct occupation group from "Farm laborers and foremen")

Size of Place	United States		South	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urbanized areas:				
3,000,000 or more	35.5	46.3	...	...
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	39.9	48.9	48.6	52.6
250,000 to 1,000,000	45.5	57.1	52.7	58.3
Under 250,000	42.5	57.9	52.0	57.4
Places outside urbanized areas:				
25,000 or more	42.7	58.7	49.5	57.0
10,000 to 25,000	40.6	56.2	46.9	56.2
2,500 to 10,000	41.1	56.2	45.1	56.1
1,000 to 2,500	39.7	57.3	42.1	58.8
Under 1,000 (incorporated)	39.8	63.2	43.1	63.1
Other rural:				
Nonfarm	41.5	56.8	42.3	56.5
Farm	14.7	44.2	15.7	45.9

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 5, Chapter A, Characteristics by Size of Place, Tables 5, 5a and 7; and unpublished tabulations by region.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 102.

white populations in this area are farmers. As the size of place increases the jobs for the Negro group as a whole tend to be more unlike those of the white population as a whole. Stated generally, there tends to be more Negroes in blue color as compared to whites (operatives, private household workers, laborers) than white color jobs (professional, managerial, clerical, sales) as one moves from the smallest size of place to the largest size of place.

The data in Table 6 indicates further that the similarity of occupational distribution is a direct function of size of place in the United States. There is a tendency for the distributions of white and nonwhite males in general to be more dissimilar, the larger the community size, up to a size of 1 million.[1] The extent to which occupational distribution is an indicator of class status, is the extent to which this analysis is relevant to the concerns of changing leadership roles and followership roles in the urban community.

v. Education. Tables 7, 8 and 9 reveal 1) that there is a size-of-place gradient in educational attainment for the nonwhite population, 2) that the gradient is especially sharp by size-of-place for the South and West. The data are included because of the obvious importance of edu-

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[1] Ibid., p. 102

TABLE 7

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY NONWHITE PERSONS 25 to 44 YEARS OLD BY SEX, BY SIZE OF PLACE, BY REGIONS: 1950

Size of Place	Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Urbanized areas:								
3,000,000 or more	8.9	9.1	9.2	9.7	...	...	10.8	11.3
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	8.8	9.3	8.8	9.3	8.5	9.2	9.7	10.5
250,000 to 1,000,000	8.4	8.9	9.0	9.8	7.7	8.3	10.2	11.1
Under 250,000	8.7	9.3	8.9	9.4	7.0	7.7	9.6	10.0
Places outside urbanized areas:								
25,000 or more	8.7	8.8	9.0	9.4	6.8	7.6	9.5	9.7
10,000 to 25,000	8.8	9.2	9.0	10.0	6.7	7.5	8.7	8.7
2,500 to 10,000	8.8	9.1	8.5	9.0	6.2	7.3	8.6	9.3
1,000 to 2,500	...	...	...	...	6.1	7.0	...	...
Under 1,000 (incorporated)	...	...	...	...	5.7	6.5	...	...
Other rural:								
Nonfarm	8.4	8.6	8.6	8.6	5.5	6.5	8.4	8.4
Farm	...	...	8.2	8.2	4.6	6.1	8.2	8.4

Source: Unpublished tabulations by the Bureau of the Census.

Quoted from Duncan, Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 90.

TABLE 8

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 14 to 24 YEARS OLD BY SEX, BY SIZE OF PLACE, BY REGIONS (WITH COLOR FOR THE SOUTH): 1950

Size of Place	Northeast		North Central		South				West	
					White		Nonwhite			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	11.1	11.6	11.2	11.7	...	...	...	...	11.5	11.9
2.	11.2	11.7	10.9	11.4	11.2	11.8	9.2	10.2	11.6	12.1
3.	10.9	11.6	11.3	11.8	11.0	11.4	8.7	9.7	11.4	12.0
4.	10.8	11.3	11.3	11.8	10.9	11.4	8.5	9.5	11.1	11.7
5.	11.0	11.3	11.6	12.1	11.6	11.5	8.2	9.2	11.4	11.8
6.	11.0	11.5	11.5	12.0	10.5	11.2	7.9	8.9	11.6	11.7
7.	11.0	11.6	11.0	11.6	10.0	10.7	7.6	8.8	10.5	11.1
8.	10.6	11.4	10.7	11.3	9.6	10.3	7.4	8.6	10.4	10.8
9.	10.4	11.2	10.6	11.1	9.8	10.6	6.8	7.8	10.4	10.9
10.	10.1	10.8	10.1	10.7	9.0	9.5	7.0	7.9	10.1	10.4
11.	9.5	10.4	9.8	10.5	8.4	9.1	6.2	7.4	9.9	10.3

Codes for Size of Place:

1. Urbanized areas of 3,000,000 or more
2. Urbanized areas of 1,000,000 to 3,000,000
3. Urbanized areas of 250,000 to 1,000,000
4. Urbanized areas of less than 250,000
5. Urban places outside urbanized areas of 25,000 or more
6. Urban places outside urbanized areas of 10,000 to 25,000
7. Urban places outside urbanized areas of 2,500 to 10,000
8. Villages (incorporated and unincorporated) of 1,000 to 2,500
9. Villages (incorporated only) of less than 1,000
10. Other rural, nonfarm
11. Other rural, farm

Source: Unpublished tabulations by the Bureau of the Census.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 90.

TABLE 9

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY AGE, COLOR, AND SEX, BY SIZE OF PLACE: 1950

Size of place and color	Total 25 years old and over	25 to 44 years old		45 to 64 years old		65 years old and over	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
WHITE							
Urbanized areas:							
3,000,000 or more	10.3	12.1	12.1	8.8	8.8	8.3	8.4
1,000,000 to 3,000,000 . .	10.8	12.1	12.1	8.9	8.9	8.3	8.5
250,000 to1,000,000 . . .	10.9	12.1	12.2	8.9	9.2	8.3	8.5
Under 250,000	10.5	12.0	12.1	8.8	9.0	8.2	8.5
Places outside urbanized areas:							
25,000 or more.	10.6	12.1	12.1	8.8	9.1	8.3	8.5
10,000 to 25,000.	10.4	12.0	12.1	8.8	9.1	8.3	8.6
2,500 to 10,000	10.0	11.5	12.1	8.7	8.9	8.2	8.5
1,000 to 2,500.	9.4	11.1	12.0	8.6	8.9	8.2	8.4
Under 1,000 . . . . (incorporated)	8.9	11.0	12.0	8.6	8.8	8.2	8.4
Other rural:							
Nonfarm	8.9	9.9	10.7	8.4	8.6	7.7	8.2
Farm	8.5	8.7	9.7	8.2	8.5	7.5	8.1
NONWHITE							
Urbanized areas:							
3,000,000 or more	8.7	9.3	9.6	7.9	7.8	6.1	6.1
1,000,000 to 3,000,000. .	8.3	8.8	9.4	6.9	7.3	5.1	5.5
250,000 to 1,000,000. . .	7.7	8.3	8.7	6.3	6.7	4.6	4.8
Under 250,000	7.0	7.6	8.2	5.6	6.3	4.2	4.4
Places outside urbanized							
25,000 or more.	6.8	7.4	8.1	5.6	6.1	4.1	4.2
10,000 to 25,000.	6.6	7.2	7.8	5.3	6.2	3.8	4.2
2,500 to 10,000	6.1	6.5	7.4	4.9	5.6	3.7	4.0
1,000 to 2,500.	5.8	6.4	7.3	4.8	5.4	3.5	3.7
Under 1,000 . . . . Incorporated)	5.3	5.9	6.7	4.0	5.3	3.4	4.0
Other rural:							
Nonfarm	5.4	6.1	6.8	4.2	4.9	3.3	3.4
Farm	4.8	4.9	6.2	3.8	4.9	3.4	3.5

Source: 1950 *Census of Population* Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 5, Chapter A, Characteristics by Size of Place, tables 2 and 2a.

Quoted from Duncan and Reiss, *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956); p.89.

cational attainment in the urbanization process.

vi. Summary. The Negro urbanization is most noted in the non-Southern regions. This validates the concern with the Northern and Western aspects of that urbanization. Nevertheless, it is important to note the increase in urbanization of the Negro in the South.

In this urbanization, the Negro is concentrated in central cities as contrasted with the suburbs. This has implications for his family life in view of the correlation of low indices of family welfare with central city living.

In the occupational distribution can be seen the extent to which urbanization increases the relative occupational rise of the nonwhite population as compared with the South. In other words in terms of two significant indices of group measurement, occupational distribution and educational status, the extent of urbanization is noted in the nonwhite community. Size of place is correlated with the rise or fall of these two characteristics.

4. SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NON-WHITE POPULATION IN THE CHICAGO AREA

i. Source. How does the typical urbanized area reflect the pattern of urbanization noted in the previous section? Moreover, how do some of the patterns vary by central city and suburbs and urban-fringe? These questions will help us select data consistent with the discussion of rural-urban characteristics. The data here will consist of an aspect of Freedman's[1] ecological study of migration based on the 1940 Census, selected socio-economic and demographic characteristics for the community areas in Chicago that reflect significant aspects of the Negro community[2] and an indication of the comparative status of the nonwhite population in the central city and the suburbs and urban-fringe. It is hoped that such an approach to the data on Chicago will help establish the urbanization profile being sought in this chapter.

ii. Aspects of Negro migration. Freedman studied the 1940 Census data on migration to Chicago in order to determine:

> Whether different types of migrants to Chicago between 1935 and 1940 were differentiated from the non-migrant population and from each other in a systematic manner with respect to significant social characteristics, including distribution within the city.[3]

Two of his hypotheses are of interest:

> ...migrants of different social characteristics, from different cultural levels,

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[1] Ronald Freedman, Recent Migration to Chicago (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950).

[2] Community data will be taken from Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, Local Community Fact Book for Chicago 1950 (Chicago: The Chicago Community Inventory, 1953).

[3] Freedman, op. cit., p. 4.

> tend to move in disproportionate numbers to a group of mobile areas to be designated as a Migrant zone.
>
> ...characteristics of the migrants will vary in relation to the cultural level of their place of origin.[1]

These hypotheses regarding cultural levels are relevant to the cultural focus of this study with respect to the problems of ministerial roles amid urbanization. Freedman was concerned with the rural-urban continuum and conceived of the phrase "cultural level" as denoting differences in social and economic organizations on the continuum. The concept "cultural level" he applied to the Southern areas only and grouped them as Deep South (states along the lower Mississippi, Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana); South Atlantic (District of Columbia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia); Border states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri). The relevance of noting Freedman's classification by cultural level is that it pertained only to the Negro migrants from the South. His study indicated that the common conception of the migrant as a 'problem' is a stereotype except for the Southern Negro migrant from the deep South.

Freedman gives a special chapter to the analysis of the Negro migrant. He explains the special treatment as follows:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

> With respect to migration differentials, as well as other aspects of his life the Negro's color is more important than his place of origin in determining his social characteristics, and his color is more important than his social characteristics in determining his areal segregation. The migration differentials of the Negro are a distinctive problem.[1]

In the light of this distinctiveness, Freedman makes his analysis and establishes the following conclusions: 1) In terms of work, occupational and educational status, Southern migrants are more heavily concentrated in the domestic service work occupations than either other non-white non-migrants or whites. 2) Deep South Negro migrants have a lower status on the above characteristics than either non-migrants or any other migrant group. 3) Negro migrants from the North and West have relatively larger numbers living in white zones (residential areas outside the predominantly occupied Negro section called "Black Metropolis") than all other migrant groups. Of the Southern migrants, those from the South Atlantic region have the next largest concentration in white zones. 4) Inside the Negro zone the same groups (migrants from North and West and from the South Atlantic) are concentrated in the best areas of residence of the Negro zone. Freedman comments on the different role of the Negro migrant as follows:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

> He is more likely than the white migrant to fit the stereotype of the "green" migrant whose socio-economic status in the city is relatively low. The Negro internal migration of this period is comparable in some respects to the foreign migration of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Negro migrant is taking the jobs at the bottom of the occupational pyramid which were formerly held by the foreign migrant.[1]

This analysis of areal location within the urban community has relevance for our concern with the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft orientations which give cues to leadership roles. It is relevant to the extent that the identification of rural areas within the city calls attention to the rural, and therefore the primary-type orientations of the residents in the city areas. One may not, accordingly, assume that residence in the city automatically rules out rural orientations. One must anticipate the pressure of "rural survivals".

Freedman's analysis shows that various areas in Chicago tend to be occupied by distinct cultural groups. While there is less variation within the Negro community, the above ecological pattern still prevails, that is, the city community areas tend to be characterized still as areas of migrant residence.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[2] In other words, the concentric circle theory of Burgess holds for a long period.

The importance of this finding as to intra-city cultural areas within the Negro community, will be further evident when attention is given to the types of urban necessities that create and modify the social roles of the minister.

iii. Selected demographic and socio-economic characteristics for Chicago.

Table 10 gives some indication of how Chicago and the community areas reflect a) the distinctive role of the Negro migrant based on his color and b) the cultural levels of the residents of selected areas. This Table describes how and where the Negro lives in Chicago. This information is important as a representative sample of the characteristics of the Negro community in large Northern and Western urbanized areas. Many of these characteristics have implications for the changing roles of the urban ministry.

The community areas chosen for analysis have been selected because they contain a majority of Negro residents and represent typical areas of stable and changing population characteristics. Community areas like Douglass (35), Grand Boulevard (38), and Washington (40) contain over 90 per cent Negro population. These areas constitute the Chicago "black belt." The other community areas in the selection, the Near West Side (28) and Riverdale (54) contain lesser percentages of Negro population than the other three,

TABLE 10

SELECTED STATISTICS FOR THE CITY OF CHICAGO
BY SELECTED COMMUNITY AREAS, 1950*

CHARACTERISTICS	CITY	COMMUNITY AREAS 28	35	38	40	54
1. Percent of city total	100.0	4.5	2.2	3.2	1.6	0.3
2. Percent of pop. foreign born white	14.5	11.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	2.6
3. Percent of pop. Negro	13.6	40.9	97.1	98.2	98.8	84.1
4. Persons per sq. mile (in 1000's)	17.2	28.4	48.5	65.1	37.7	2.7
5. Males per 100 females, 15 yrs. and over	95	121	89	88	90	79
6. Median age . . .	33.6	28.9	29.4	34.0	35.1	15.9
7. Median yrs. of school completed 25 yrs. and over	9.5	8.3	8.2	8.5	9.3	9.0
8. Percent workers in prof. and tech. occup.	8.9	5.3	4.2	3.6	4.1	4.1
9. Median income of families. . .	$3,856	$2,695	$2,168	$2,527	$2,651	$2,687
10. Percent of persons one yr. and older living in same hse'hld, '49-'50.	87.2	81.6	83.6	87.8	87.2	88.8
11. Percent of persons living in reg. hse'hlds. .	95.5	85.9	89.2	88.9	92.7	99.8
12. Percent married couples with own hse'hlds	90.6	84.8	78.4	73.5	78.0	97.5
13. Percent of dwelling units owner occupied	28.8	11.7	8.3	7.8	6.9	14.1
14. Median rent of renter-occupied dwelling unit. .	$44	$32	$36	$40	$45	$41
15. Percent with no bath, water, and dilapidated	19.6	56.4	71.0	59.0	44.8	11.5
16. Percent with 1.51 or more persons per room.	6.4	18.3	29.7	25.2	20.9	10.1
17. Births per 1,000 women 15-44 yrs.	89.3	120.8	121.9	87.8	75.8	131.9
18. Deaths per 1,000 persons standardized	11.2	18.2	16.7	15.5	13.0	15.9
19. Infants deaths per 1,000 live births	25.5	35.2	37.8	34.6	31.1	...
20. Tuberculosis cases per 10,000 persons 15 yrs. and older	16.4	48.5	46.0	38.1	35.9	21.5
21. Public assistance per 1,000 persons standardized	31.2	109.1	153.3	123.0	89.9	144.6

Source: Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, Local Community Fact Book for Chicago 1950 (Chicago: The Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1953) pp. 4-5, Table 6.

*Community Areas

28.......Near West Side
35.......Douglass
38.......Grand Boulevard
40.......Washington Park
54.......Riverdale

but they represent opposite poles of social characteristics, the Near West Side being a highly mobile area for migrants white and non-white and Riverdale being a more stable area of Negro population.

(1) Distribution of the Negro population. In the 1950 Census the Negro population of Chicago was nearly 500,000 and was 14 percent of the city's total 3,620,962 population. This distribution was a 77.2 per cent increase over the previous decade, the number rising from 277,731 total Negro population in 1940. Some indication of the magnitude of this population increase can be seen by comparing the Negro population increase of 77.2 per cent, with the total increase for the city which was 6.6 per cent. Table 11 presents the data on population for the total city of Chicago.

Table 10 contains twenty-one characteristics of social and demographics for the city of Chicago and five community areas that contain approximately 65 per cent of the total Negro population of Chicago. Of the community areas, the Near West Side contains 65,520; Douglass (28) contains 76,421; Grand Boulevard (38) has 113,374; Washington Park (40) has 56,178, and Riverdale (40) has 8,242. The extent of the density of population, with the exception of Riverdale, can be noted in the table. Grand Boulevard has a population density of 65.1—the most heavily populated area in

TABLE 11

SUMMARY OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1950, 1940, 1930
CITY OF CHICAGO

Characteristics	1950	1940	1930	Per Cent Change	
				'40-50	'30-40
Total Population	3,320,962	3,926,808	3,376,438	6.6	0.6
Per Cent Distribution	100.00	100.00	100.00		
Native White	2,585,467	2,441,859	2,281,316	5.9	7.0
Per Cent Distribution	71.4	71.9	67.6		
Foreign-Born Whites	526,058	672,705	855,777	-21.8	-21.4
Per Cent Distribution	14.5	19.8	25.3		
Negro	492,265	277,731	233,903	77.2	18.7
Per Cent Distribution	13.6	8.2	6.9		
Other Races	17,172	4,513	5,442	280.5	-17.1
Percent Distribution	0.5	0.1	0.2		
Median Age	33.6	32.1	28.9		
Persons per Square mile	17.2	16.1	16.0	6.8	0.6
Median School years completed age 25 and older	9.5	8.5			

Source: Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950.

Chicago.

(2) Housing. Characteristics item number 16 in the Table gives some picture of the housing of Chicago's Negro population. The Douglass area (35) has 71 per cent of its houses in dilapidated conditions as compared with 19 per cent for the city as a whole.

(3) Occupation and Income. Characteristics item number 8 in Table 10 shows the percentage of workers in professional occupational category. The figures show, of course, that the Negro is quite dissimilar in the various five community areas. The Near West Side (28) has the highest percentage of such workers in the five selected areas. (5.3). This higher percentage probably reflects the fact that in area 28 the proportion of white to non-white population is greater than in the other areas.

(4) Education. Washington Park (area 40) has the largest median of education, a 9.3 compared to the city total of 9.6. This reflects the presence of the higher status Negro population. In 1950 Washington Park was just on the boundary of areas in the process of being invaded by waves of Negro population. In other words, this was one of the areas in which the migrants from the North and West were likely to be found rather than the ones from the Deep South.

(5) Vital statistics. The characteristics items 17 through 21 reveal the distinctive role of the Negro migrant

to Chicago. Item number 20, Tuberculosis cases, definitely reflects the crowded and dilapidated housing conditions referred to above. Characteristics item number 21 gives clear evidence of the low welfare status of the Negro in Chicago. Douglass community area, for instance, has a rate of 163 persons per thousand on public assistance as compared to 31 for the total city.

These brief descriptions of social characteristics of the Chicago Negro community, validate the observation that its migrants are distinctive in role as compared with white migrants. The data, moreover, show clearly that the areas of large Negro in-migration, have a lower level of welfare than similar areas of white in-migration.

iv. Suburbs and urban fringe characteristics of nonwhites. In a very general way it has been seen how some Chicago community areas reflect the distinctive roles of the Negro migrant to Chicago and how the fact of color tends to be more important than social characteristics in determining his status. The question arises as to whether social characteristics vary as one moves from the central city to the suburbs. It is expected that more positive social characteristics will apply to nonwhites in the suburbs the same as is generally true for whites. A measure of this expectation is provided by a special report of the Chicago community inventory in 1954 on characteristics by central city and suburb.[1] Table 12 gives data on distribution of occupation group for non-whites.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP FOR NONWHITES 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY SEX, FOR THE CITY OF CHICAGO AND FOR THE SUBURBS AND URBAN FRINGE: 1950

	City of Chicago		Suburbs and Urban Fringe	
Occupation	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, tech, etc.	2.9	4.4	1.1	4.3
Farmers and farm mgr.	...	...	0.1	...
Mgr., offic. props.	3.3	1.9	1.4	1.7
Clerical and kindred wkrs.	9.1	12.9	3.1	7.6
Sales wkrs.	2.5	2.5	1.1	2.3
Craftsmen foreman, etc.	11.9	1.9	13.8	2.0
Operatives	28.5	37.3	30.9	18.3
Prv. Hsehold	0.4	16.1	2.1	37.2
Serv. wkrs.	16.7	18.1	10.7	20.3
Farm lbrs.	0.2	...	0.1	0.3
Laborers exc. Frm.-Mine	21.0	3.8	34.0	4.3
Occ. not reported	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.7

Source: Chicago Community Inventory Report, "Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Population of the City of Chicago and of the Suburbs and Urban Frange, 1950" (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, 1954). Appendix A, Table A-6 and A-7.

The data in the Table 12 shows that the status of the nonwhites is lower in the surburbs and urban fringe as com-

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1. Chicago Community Inventory Report.

pared to the central city. One way to measure the occupational difference is by the index of dissimilarity.[1] In terms of the total occupations of nonwhites in Chicago central city and the suburbs and urban fringe, the index of occupational dissimilarity is 21.2 for the males and 24.8 for nonwhite females. Occupational groups accounting for this large dissimilarity are, for the nonwhite males, the categories of laborers and service workers, except private household; for nonwhite females the categories of operatives and private household workers.

The index of dissimilarity between suburbs and central city of Chicago nonwhite males and females of 21.2 and 24.8 respectively, compare with a total figure for central cities in urbanized areas of 12.6 and 15.2 of males and females who are nonwhite.[2] Chicago nonwhites have a greater dissimilarity than the total group of urbanized areas. The index of dissimilarity for whites versus nonwhites are for Chicago males and females, 33.4 and 42.9 in the city and 42.9 and 51.7 in the suburbs and urban fringe. Corresponding indexes for the total United States are 39.5 and 48.9 for males and females in the city and 45.9 and

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[1] This index of dissimilarity is the sum of the positive differences in the two distributions or one-half the sum of the absolute differences.

[2] Duncan and Reiss, op. cit., p. 129.

57.2 for the same group in suburbs. The dissimilarity is lesser for nonwhites in the Chicago area.

The data presented above apparently indicate that the color of the Negro is more important than the social characteristics in the differentiations between residence in central and suburban cities. The occupational status seems to be highest in the central city. The occupational differences within the nonwhite group are higher in the Chicago area than for the average of urbanized areas as a whole. To the extent that these characteristics of the Negro community indicate tendencies making for frustrations or anxieties, to that extent the needed leadership roles should emerge in the urban communities. This reference to frustrations and anxieties refers to the concentration of Negroes in central cities. The data indicate that this is the fact of Negro urbanization in 1950. If this is so, what will happen when some of the Negro population attain financial security enabling them to move to suburban areas? The likelihood is that there will be friction with previous white residents of suburban areas. Their resistance will cause frustrations and anxieties. These resistances may follow the traditional violent pattern and take on the form of race riots. It is the contention here that such incidents will definitely be related to leadership roles. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

v. Summary. In this chapter an attempt has been made to establish the degree and pattern of the urbanization of the Negro community. Consistent with an ideal-type methodology, demographic and socio-economic data have been presented in terms of the rural-urban continuum, utilizing the most recent tabulation of Census data for nonwhite populations by size of community.

The findings as reported in this chapter are as follows: 1) The Negro population has become urbanized both in the North and West as well as in the South. 2) This urbanized Negro community is concentrated in central cities. 3) Occupational status generally rises with the degree of urbanization. 4) Differences in types of jobs held by white and nonwhites after the rural farm, where both groups are primarily farmers, are very much unlike or most dissimilar in the size of place groups up to 1 million population. But they become more alike or less dissimilar from places of 1 million and above. 5) The educational level is a direct function of increasing size of place for the Negro community. 6) The Negro migrants are different from white migrants in Chicago, with color as the most important characteristic. 7) The Negroes in Chicago live in areas of high density accompanied by many of the negative indices of social welfare. 8) The suburbs and urban fringe, contrary to the characteristics for native whites, do not reflect a rise in family status or occupational status for nonwhites. 9) While the Negro's occupational and education status rises, the extent of social disorganization increases.

It is a sociological commonplace that rises in educational and occupational levels as well as increases in social disorganization create pressures which affect the roles of institutions and leadership roles within those institutions. Therefore this chapter serves as a frame of reference within which to consider the aspects of the Negro religious community as well as the characteristics and conceptions of the Negro Baptist ministers, laymen and youth.

CHAPTER III

ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The focus of the last chapter was upon the impact of urbanization upon the social characteristics of the Negro community as a whole. The problem of this chapter is to determine the historical and contemporary impact of urbanization upon the Negro church and its ministry in particular. Although the beginnings of the Negro church and its ministry took place in the South, the organized Negro church, with an independent ministry, began among the free Negroes in the urban North.[1] Since the concern here is with the urban Negro ministry, it is convenient to consider the aspects of the Negro religious community from this urban northern perspective. Consequently, while some attention must be given to the early and contemporary southern aspects, the main focus will be on the northern urban impact upon the religious activity of Negroes.

There are two periods in which this urban impact may be considered: the period of the free Negroes of the Slavery Epoch, 1750-1859, and that of the Negro migrants of the Migration Epoch[1] 1915-1930. Both periods reflect important aspects that bear upon the leadership roles of the urban Negro ministry.

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[1] See Frazier, Negroes in the United States, p. 345.

The chapter will be developed, then, by presenting a brief history of the Negro church, and the urban impact upon free Negroes and southern migrants.

1. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

While there is some dispute among scholars as to whether the Negro's religion has an African background, it appears that his religion and his church organization developed out of his experiences on American soil.[2] The first efforts at conversion were made by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, but the Negro did not respond to the highly formal worship patterns of the Established Church.[3] During the early part of the eighteenth century, the Negro came under the influence of the Moravians, Presbyterians, Quakers and the Catholics. But in each case the ritual forms were either too rigid or too free.[1] That this was true seems evident in the response which the slaves gave to the Methodists and Baptists following the Revolutionary War, during a phase of the Great Awakening. This movement was a mass appeal to the emotions which caused fainting and convulsions during revival meetings. Large numbers of Negroes in both the North and South united with the Methodist and Baptist churches. Frazier interprets the response of the slaves to the religion of the Methodists and Baptists as due to the fundamental psychological factors in human nature. He says:

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[1] B. E. Mays, and J. W. Nicholson, The Negro's Church (New York: The Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933) discuss the development of the Negro church in terms of the following periods: The Slavery Epoch, 1750-1859; the Civil War Epoch, 1860-1865; The Post-Civil-War Epoch, 1866-1899; The New Century Epoch, 1900-1914; The Migration Epoch, 1915-1930. pp. 30-35.

[2] See Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p. 334.

[3] Ibid., pp. 334, 335-336.

> The Baptist and Methodist preachers, who lacked the education of the ministers of the Established Church, appealed to the poor and ignorant and the outcast. In the crowds that attended the revivals and camp meetings there were numbers of Negroes who found in the fiery message of salvation, a hope and an escape from their earthly woes. Moreover, the emphasis which the preachers placed upon feeling as a sign of conversion found a ready response in the black slaves who were repressed in so many ways. The slaves...were broken men. Here was an appeal, emotional and simple, that provided a new way of life and drew them into a union with their fellow men. It drew them into a common union at first with whites, but later formed a stronger bond with members of their own race.[2]

i. Ministerial firsts. Consistent with the response of the Negro community to the evangelical faiths, the Methodists and Baptists, was the beginning of the Negro ministry and its earliest ministerial roles. A racially inclusive role was filled by Harry Hosier who, as the first American Negro preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, travelled and preached with Bishop Asbury and Reverend Thomas Coke of the American Society in 1784.[1] Henry Evans, a free Virginian, pioneered for Methodism in the South, preaching to mixed audiences. A founder's role was filled by Thomas Paul, who after founding the Boston Independent Baptist Church, helping to establish Abyssinia Baptist Church in New York, added a missionary role as he went to Haiti for the Baptist Missionary Society.

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[1] Ibid., p. 337.

[2] Ibid., p. 339.

George Lisle, converted under his master's pastorate during the eighteenth century, distinguished himself as a preacher. In spite of many floggings, Andrew Bryan persisted until his master permitted him to preach without interruption for two years. Lott Carey with this same type of courage, won his freedom, developed his intellect and organized the first missionary society in the United States.[2] John Chavis, educated at Princeton and Washington and Lee University, showed courage also and continued to preach in North Carolina after being legally forced to discontinue.

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[1] Ruby Johnston, The Development of Negro Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 35.

Lastly, Jack of Virginia, one of the last slaves imported, preached for forty years until forced to discontinue by law in 1832, a law resulting from Nat Turner's Insurrection.

ii. Early ministerial leadership in behalf of liberty. Many of the laws referred to above were enacted as a result of the efforts of Negro preachers to secure liberty. In fact such efforts constituted one of the important roles of the Negro ministry during slavery. They preached the gospel courageously and led revolts fearlessly with the result that they were forbidden to preach in the South during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Working on what Mays[1] delineates from the mass literature of years 1760 to 1860, as ideas of God which focused on after-life, and social reconstruction, these ministers used this concept as a focal point to attack the institution of slavery. They saw God working for their cause in the abolition of slavery. These ideas undoubtedly motivated such men as: 1) Nat Turner, the Southampton County nineteenth century Virginian, who led an insurrection in 1831 - one conceived in meditation, but activated in a senseless bloody reprisal against every white person in sight; 2) Denmark Vesey, a purchaser of his own freedom, a Bible student who mingled his interpretation with imagination and superstition, and led a violent rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina which ended in his execution by hanging along with thirty-four associates; and 3) Bishop Daniel A. Payne, an African Methodist Episcopal Church, freeborn Charleston Negro, who non-violently championed freedom for all groups regardless of color in the North, after a South Carolina legislative act of 1834 prohibited teaching slaves to read and write. Thus there were leaders who protested slavery, violently and non-violently — both forms oriented to the church and the ministry.

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[1] Benjamin Mays, The Negro's God (Boston: Mount Vernon Press, 1938).

2. THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION UPON THE NEGRO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

As was stated above, there are two groups whose religious experiences in the urban North provide a convenient point for discussion of the urban impact upon the Negro religious community. Those groups are the free Negroes of the Slavery Epoch and the Negro migrants of the Migration Epoch.[1] This discussion will now turn to a consideration of these two, with special reference to the roles of the ministers.

i. The impact of urbanization upon the community of free Negroes. It was among the free Negroes in the urban North that the first pressures came for the founding of independent social institutions that would provide resources for status and the exercise of leadership. This is indicated by the founding of the independent Negro church organizations toward the close of the eighteenth and during the early decades of the nineteenth centuries. Such leadership was manifested by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones in establishing the Free African Society in Philadelphia in 1787. The impetus for this organization grew out of rebuffs and actual segregation in seating arrangements for Negroes in the mixed membership in St. George Methodist Church in Philadelphia. Allen followed this by directing the construction of the Bethel Church in Philadelphia. This church was supplied for a period by white ministers from St. George Church, but became independent under the ministry of Allen, in 1799. By 1816 the Methodist Church organizations in various cities united into the African Methodist Episcopal Church organization with Allen as its first bishop.

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[1] Mays and Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 20-35.

Another group of free Negroes undertook a type of leadership in establishing independent Negro churches. In 1796, three licensed preachers of the Methodist Church in New York's John Street Church, joined seven other members in requesting permission from Bishop Asbury to worship in a separate building. The stated reason for the request was their "desire for the privilege of holding meetings of their own, where they might have an opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts among themselves, and thereby be more useful to one another."[1] This initial request for separate meetings was translated, in 1799, into desires for a separate building due to the increase of Negro membership. It was from this group that the second independent Negro denomination arose, the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

In 1836, the first ecclesiastical organization among Negro Baptist was organized, the Providence Missionary Baptist Association. In 1839 the Wood River Association of Illinois was established and in 1840 the American Baptist Missionary Convention was established as an agency for the New England and Atlantic seaboard states.

The importance of the rise of the independent Negro church, for our purpose, is the extent to which it represents the urban impact upon the Negro community. Though the rise of the independent Negro church has usually been discussed in terms of its "protest" characteristics, there are some sociological conditions in the nature of urban life which are equally involved. One of these is population. It might be helpful to note the distribution of the free Negro population in two of the states where independent Negro denominations arose. In Pennsylvania, the population of free Negroes in the year 1800 was 14,564; in 1810 it was 22,492 and by 1860 it was 56,949. The population of free Negroes of New York State for the respective years were 10,374, 25,333, and 49,005.[1]

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[1] Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Copyright, 1921, 1945), p. 78.

The historical accounts of the rise of both Methodist denominations—in Philadelphia and New York City—indicate that the causes included an increase in Negro membership. Haynes says the tensions in St. George Methodist Church were "due to the increase of Negroes in the worship services the white membership proposed a seating plan whereby the Negro members were to sit in the gallery."[2] Referring to the John Street separation, he says, "...due to the increase of the Negro membership among the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York City, a proposal was accepted by the members to build a separate house of worship rather than to continue their connection with the Methodist Church."[3]

Mays contends that the "needs of the race would have produced the Negro church".[4] But he qualifies this statement with the assertion that had it come this way, rather than through segregation, it would have been a separate church and not a segregated church. Haynes holds that racial discrimination is the key cause, without which there would have been no independent church movement. Haynes claims that the origin of the Negro church is not theological, but "social and anthropological". He says, "without the caste structures of the American Protestant Church there would be no need for separate churches for Negroes and whites".[1] The position of this dissertation is in agreement with Mays, holding that part of the pressures for the rise of the independent Negro church were the needs of the race associated with the population concentrations of the free Negro communities. These communities were without vote in the northern cities, where there was competition with white laborers, and the economic conditions of the free Negroes were less favorable than in the southern cities. They had greater educational privileges in the North than in the South, but on the whole the lack of voting privileges caused race consciousness. In terms of our theoretical orientation, this developed pressures for crescive leadership.

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[1] Bureau of the Census, Negro Population 1790 to 1915 (Washington: 1918), pp. 53-57.

[2] See Haynes, The Negro Community in American Protestantism, p. 126.

[3] Ibid., p. 137.

[4] B. E. Mays, "The Negro Church" in Vergilius Ferm, An Encyclopedia of Religion, p. 520.

Frazier points to the first important leaders as those who took the initiative in the establishment of separate

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1. See Haynes, op. cit., p. 125.

church organizations in the North toward the close of the eighteenth century. This is not to disparage other Negro leaders, but as Frazier says,

> ...little is known of leadership among the slaves because every form of organized activity was suppressed. The most prominent leaders who were acceptable to the white masters were, of course, the Negro preachers. But even the activities of the Negro preachers were under constant surveillance.[1]

He continues:

> ...leadership emerged in response to the organized activities of the freedmen. Since one of the most important organized activities of the freedmen was the church, preachers became the largest and most influential body of leaders among freedmen.[2]

These beginnings are representative of the most important aspects of the Negro religious community relevant to a consideration of ministerial roles with special reference to the urban community.

While the role of the Negro minister had its beginning in the South, it was not until there developed communities of free Negroes in the urban North that it became independent as a professional role, free from the restrictions of legal and formal control.

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1. Frazier, op. cit., p. 542.

2. Frazier, op. cit., p. 543.

ii. The impact of urbanization upon the Negro migrant. By the time the Negro migration from the southern to the northern and western United States began, the Negro church had become largely a southern institution. This had resulted from the expansion and rapid growth, in the South, of the independent Baptist and Methodist Negro organizations. The Baptists tended to attract the largest numbers of the Negro members. In 1916 the Baptist denomination had 3 million Negro members and 22,000 Baptist churches.[1] In this same period the African Methodist Episcopal Church had 548,355 members and 6,633 churches.

By 1936 seven-eights of the Negro churches were located in the South.

Johnson describes the rural southern church as follows:[2]

> The church is the one outstanding institution of the community over which the Negroes themselves exercise control, and because it stands so alone in administering to their own conception of their needs, its function is varied. The religious emotions of the people demand some channel of formal expression, and find it in the church. But more than this, the church is the most important

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[1] Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1936 Vol. I Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington, 1941), pp. 900-01. Quoted in Frazier, Negroes in the United States, p. 348.

[2] Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 150.

> center for face-to-face relations. It is in a very real sense a social institution. It provides a large measure of the recreation and relaxation from the physical stress of life. It is the agency looked to for aid when misfortune overtakes a person. It offers the medium for community feeling, singing together, eating together, praying together, and indulging in the formal expression of fellowship. Above this it holds out a world of escape from the hard experiences of life common to all. It is the agency which holds together the subcommunities and families physically scattered over a wide area. It exercises some influence over social relations, setting up certain regulations for behavior, passing judgments which represent community opinion, censuring and penalizing improper conduct by expulsion.

These churches of the rural South are small and the services are characterized by general participation on the part of the congregation. The ministers of these rural churches are older men and have very meager education. Frazier says:

> Scarcely more than two-fifths of them have more than a grammar school education. Moreover, there is much turnover among the rural ministers, especially among the Baptist, where their tenure depends upon their personal inclinations and the extent to which they satisfy the demands of their congregations. The ministers are generally men who have been "called" to preach and therefore they tend to emphasize the otherworldly.[1]

The Negro church in the South inevitably became associated with the socio-economic characteristics of the Negro community in the South. These characteristics are: isolated communities, emotional or charismatic forms of religious worship and leadership, and low educational status. In essence, it became a part of the southern Negro folk culture. When these aspects of the Negro community were brought to the urban North by Negro migrants, it represented a transplanted folk culture.

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[1] See Frazier, op. cit., p. 351.

With the migration, churches are now concentrated more in the cities. Those churches, mostly Baptist, tend to be small "storefront" and sectarian churches. The "storefront" church is the most characteristic of the urban impact on the religion of the migrants. Frazier writes: "The most radical transformation in the religious life of the folk Negro is revealed in the various sectarian churches which have sprung up in the northern city."[1] The migration of the folk Negro produced a cultural shock and he consequently attempts to find meaning for his life. This is often provided by cults, which, as Fauset says, meets this need in terms of four compulsions, - "the supernatural being, the personality of the leader, relief from physical and mental illness and race consciousness".[2] One of the most important of these cults is the Father Divine Peace Movement. Another is the Moorish Science Temple of America, founded in 1913—a Negro nationalistic cult which stresses the Islam religion.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

[2] Arthur F. Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (Philadelphia: 1944), p. 76.

There is a wider range of upper and lower class churches both between and within denominations.

The urban impact has required an improvement in the professional status of the ministry of the orthodox Baptist and Methodist churches as a result of the Northern Negro's greater literacy, sophistication and more secular attitudes toward his social and economic problems. The minister cannot preach "other worldly" sermons to him.

Since 1930, the Roman Catholic Church has experienced an increase in membership among the urban Negro as a result of its efforts to minister to the Negro's economic, educational and recreational needs. In connection with this, Frazier writes:[1]

> The disruption of the Negro folk culture together with family disorganization has tended to alienate Negro youth from their traditional religious heritage. The Catholic Church through its systematic approach to the educational and recreational problems of Negro youth, a program involving the personal relations of the priest to these activities, has created a new religious orientation of the Negro in the city.

SUMMARY

The role of the Negro minister as leader has been defined in the urban community in terms of the development of the independent Negro church. The role was defined not only in religious terms as a spiritual leader, but also in terms that cover the wide range of social institutions — economic, political, social, and educational.

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[1] Frazier, op. cit., p. 363.

In the South as the Negro ministerial role became independent after the Civil War it became identified with the socio-economic folk characteristics of its area and congregation, low educational level and highly emotional expression.

The impact of urbanization upon the Negro migrants with its resulting cultural shock, caused some Negroes to resort to "folkways" of meeting the crisis, such as adapting their small rural churches to the city by means of the "storefront" church, while others resorted to "urban ways" such as joining cults like the Father Divine Peace Movement.

The rising educational and economic status of the Negroes in the Northern community tended to put pressures upon the ministers of the more orthodox Baptist and Methodist churches to increase their education and to recognize the socio-economic and political problems of their congregations both in their sermons and in the program of the church.

Inasmuch as there are wide variations within denominations — especially with the Baptists who cover a range from the lower class "storefront" churches to the middle class conventional type — it is natural to expect a wide range of ministerial characteristics and role conceptions. In the chapter that follows we shall examine the professional characteristics of the Chicago Negro Baptist ministry.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP

In the present chapter we turn from certain background studies and suggested typologies of ministerial leadership, to a field study undertaken by the writer in Chicago during the year 1954.

1. THE NUMBER IDENTIFIED AND INTERVIEWED

The field work was begun in an analysis of 207 ministers and their churches. A ministerial list was compiled from a combined source consisting of the Year Books of the three Negro Baptist State Conventions, the Chicago Church Federation Directory, the telephone directory, and a 1948 graduation thesis listing Negro Baptist ministers.[1]

The names of ministers and churches which could be checked by two sources and who were members of the State Conventions were listed as a part of our interview population. One primary difficulty was in the nature of convention membership of a pastor or a church. It was discovered that membership fluctuated and was inconsistent, making for difficulty in determining current membership. The plan was to interview all of the ministers. The result was that we had to be content with those who were available.

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[1] The Chicago Baptist Institute, "A Survey of Negro Baptist Churches in Chicago" (Chicago: 1949).

The study was exploratory. The plan of procedure was for the writer to make personal contact as a first choice and telephone as a second choice. Most of the contacts were by personal interview; a small number by telephone. Many contacts were made in connection with Baptist ministerial conferences and association meetings. At these meetings the first effort centered on locating ministers by name and church. If this first effort failed, efforts were made to contact all persons who were ministers by title, assuming that the ministerial list was incomplete and had to be continually constructed in the field.

A total of 161 ministers were interviewed. Active pastors constituted 141 of this total; assistant ministers totaled 6 and inactive pastors numbered 14.

2. PROFILE OF THE NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTER

i. Age. The age range of the pastors is from twenty to eighty years. They are primarily older men; only 29.3 per cent are under 45 years of age. In the age category from 45 to 54, the Chicago Negro Baptist ministry contains 32.6 per cent. Thirty-eight per cent are age 55 and over.

This age profile can best be understood by means of some comparative ages of ministers indicated by general

TABLE 13

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 144 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA-PASTORS, ASSISTANTS AND NON-PASTORS

Age	Total	Pastors	Assistants	Non Pastors
Total:	144	126	6	12
90 and over	1	0	0	1
85-89	0	0	0	0
80-84	4	3	0	1
75-79	2	1	0	1
70-74	9	6	1	2
65-69	6	6	0	0
60-64	14	11	1	2
55-59	22	21	0	1
50-54	22	21	1	0
45-49	21	20	0	1
40-44	20	18	0	2
35-39	9	8	1	0
30-34	6	5	0	1
25-29	5	5	0	0
20-24	3	1	2	0

and other denominational studies.

The latter table 14 indicates that the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers are relatively older than those of at least two major Protestant denominations and of the United State's ministers as a whole. This comparison, of course, is with predominantly white ministers. A more significant comparison might be with the ministers in the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. This will afford a comparison with another Negro ministerial group, though it will not be for an urban place like the Negro Baptist ministers in Chicago. A comparison with the Central Jurisdiction

TABLE 14

AGES OF MINISTERS OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES

	Percentage Distribution			
	Ministers U.S.	American Bapt. Convention	Methodist	Chgo. Negro
Age:				
Under 45	48.2	52.0	35.3	29.3
45-54	23.6	19.6	25.4	32.6
55 and over	28.1	28.4	39.2	38.1

Source: Data for both the ministers of the United States and the Methodist ministry were taken from a document prepared by Murray H. Leiffer, A Study of Retirement and Recruitment in the Methodist Ministry (Chicago: Methodist Publishing House, 1944). The data on American Baptist Ministers were taken from Hugh Hartshorne and Milton C. Froyd, Theological Education in the Northern Baptist Convention (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1945), p. 114.

ministers, however, will present valuable information for the type of profile being sought in this study.

Dixon in a study of the ministers of the Central Jurisdiction presented the data on age as shown in Table 15. This table indicates that 42.2 per cent of the Central Jurisdiction ministers are under 45 years of age as compared with 29.3 of the per cent of the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers. Fifty-seven and eight tenths per cent of the Methodist Negro ministers are past age 45 as compared with 70.7 of the Chicago Baptist ministers. These figures might be interpreted to mean that the Baptist ministry shows a great need of recruitment — at least greater than the Methodists.

TABLE 15

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 180 MINISTERS OF THE CENTRAL JURISDICTION

Age		Number of Ministers	Percentage
26-35		16	8.9
36-45		60	33.3
46-55		42	23.3
56-65		50	27.8
66-72		12	6.7
	Totals	180	100.0

Source: William Edge Dixon, "Ministerial Leadership in the Central Jurisdiction" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1955), p. 100.

ii. Geographic source. The geographic source is very revealing in information concerning conditioning — academic, psychological and cultural. To what extent were the ministers from the South? The query is important to an understanding of attitudes and to a possible appraisal of needs.

There are large numbers of ministers from two Southern regions; the East South Central states of Tennessee, and Mississippi; the West South Central states of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. Stating the geographical source of the ministers in terms of regions may serve to give a broader and more striking indication of the cultural and sociological factors involved. In a real sense, we must know something about such factors to rightfully appraise the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers interviewed.

TABLE 16

BIRTHPLACES OF 135 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA

State	Total	Percent	Pastors	Assistants	Non Pastors
Total:	135	100.0	118	5	12
Mississippi	51	37.8	46	2	3
Arkansas	15	11.2	13	1	1
Tennessee	13	9.7	12	0	1
Texas	12	8.9	8	0	4
Louisiana	10	7.4	10	0	0
Alabama	8	5.9	7	0	1
Georgia	7	5.2	5	1	1
Illinois	6	4.5	6	0	0
Oklahoma	3	2.2	3	0	0
South Carolina	2	1.5	2	0	0
Ohio	2	1.5	2	0	0
Kentucky	1	0.7	0	1	0
Missouri	1	0.7	0	0	1
New Jersey	1	0.7	1	0	0
North Carolina	1	0.7	1	0	0
Virginia	1	0.7	1	0	0
Washington, D.C.	1	0.7	1	0	0

The educational factor is one important part of the profile of our interest in the Chicago situation. We have figures on the median school years completed for persons 25 years and older in 1940 and 1950 in the states providing the comparatively larger source of the ministers.

Table 17 indicates a lower median of school completion than the 1950 Chicago median (8.6). There are also indications of a rise, with the Louisiana increase being quite rapid, though still lower in 1950 than the other states.

TABLE 17

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED FOR NONWHITE PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER - SELECTED SOUTHERN STATES, 1940 AND 1950

State	1950	1940
Mississippi	5.1	4.7
Louisiana	4.6	2.6
Arkansas	5.6	5.2
Tennessee	6.5	5.8
Texas	7.0	6.1

Source: Taken from Journal of Negro Education 22 (1953).

The ministers interviewed averaged 48.6 years of age. They averaged 23.8 years residence in the Chicago area. This would mean, then, that the average minister came from these Southern states (interviews indicate that they came directly) in 1935. The year 1907 would be the year in which the average minister was born. The total impression of this picture would give us, then, an individual who came to Chicago at age 28 in the year 1935. This person would have left the South at a period when the educational level of the Negro population was at the 1940 level or lower.

The Chicago Negro minister is from the South. He came at a time when he had reached adulthood bearing the marks of Southern oppression. This does not necessarily mean that he was limited to the median years of school completed as measured by the census though it is possible that he may have been in the lower half of the figure. In any case, this minister has to be considered partly in terms of his native source if a correct appraisal of him is to be made in the Chicago area. If our Chicago figures are accurate as presented in Table 23, then there are 72 per cent of the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers who do reflect the low educational status of their Southern origins.

This picture strikes the writer as more indicative of the fact that the problem of raising the level of Negro leadership is a national one rather than a regional one alone. It seems valid to suggest 1) that the need is not for any cessation of support of predominant Negro institutions in the South; 2) that the need is for efforts to balance the location and support of institutions providing ministerial training. This should be done by making provisions in the North and West where the Negro is moving. The task of Home Missions must still be to minister to both the immediate and the long run need. This will mean in some instances, support of institutions predominantly for Negroes in cases where their educational level is low relative to the level of whites. This seems to be true for both the rural and the urban places. There is still a need to minister to the effects of social discrimination even in a period when the situation is improving. Any policies in this regard must consider the extent to which one can meet an immediate need in effective ways that are consistent with movements toward integrated education.

iii. Years of residence in Chicago. Indications were given above as to the average number of years the ministers interviewed had been in Chicago (23.8). The median number of years is 25.6.

TABLE 18

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN CHICAGO OF 130 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS

Number of Years	Total	Percent	Pastors	Assistants	Non Pastors
Total:	130	99.6	116	4	10
50-54	1	0.7	1	0	0
45-49	1	0.7	1	0	0
40-44	6	4.6	4	1	1
35-39	18	13.8	16	0	2
30-34	29	22.3	28	1	0
25-29	12	9.2	11	0	1
20-24	10	7.7	9	0	1
15-19	16	12.3	14	1	1
10-14	21	16.1	17	1	3
5-9	10	7.7	10	0	0
0-4	6	4.5	5	0	1

Sixty-one of the pastors (those in full-time service) have been in the area more than twenty-five years; thirty-two have come to Chicago in the past fifteen years. In other words, approximately 53 per cent have been in Chicago twenty-five years or more.

The disclosures of Table 6 show that half of the ministers interviewed have been exposed to a number of years of urban experience in the Chicago area. The actual extent of their reaction to it we shall consider in another part of this study. Implicit in this picture of the years of residence in Chicago are questions of age, year and place of ordination, as well as the sources and extent of education. We shall consider these questions next.

iv. Ordination place and year. Table 19 indicates both the age and the year of ordination of 77 of the Negro Baptist ministers. These represent those who gave information of specific date and year of ordination. A number of interviewees gave the number of years they had been preaching but the investigator was not able to obtain specific dates in all instances.

TABLE 19

AGE AND YEAR OF ORDINATION OF 77 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS

		Year												
Age	Total	1892-1895	1895-1900	1900-1904	05-09	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54
Total:	77	1	1	2	0	1	9	7	9	13	16	6	7	5
50-54	1													1
45-49	0													0
40-44	9							1	1	1	3	1	2	0
35-39	8							1	0	2	5	0	0	0
30-34	10						2	0	2	1	2	1	2	0
25-29	26			1	0	0	4	1	2	6	5	3	1	3
20-24	16		1	1	0	0	1	3	4	1	1	1	2	1
15-19	7	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0

The average age for entering the ministry by ordination is 28.8; the median is 27.3. This compares with the median age at ordination for 26 ordained Institute[1] student ministers of 32.5. In both cases the beginning is late if one assumes the desirability of a long period for adequate training.

Table 20 shows further that almost 38 per cent of the ministers were ordained between 1930 and 1939. The actual number is 29. The significance of this ordination picture of the 1930's is to be found in ages at which these 29 were ordained. Above the age of 35, there were 37.9 per cent of the ministers ordained in the 1930's. The figures as presented, fall within the period of the depression. If one recognizes that the economic conditions have some influence on psychological and spiritual motivations and on decisions for one's life's work, there may be a suggestion here that is important. It may mean that while some men may have responded to ministerial needs and opportunities in honest and sincere committment, there may have been a significant few who did so out of purely economic or opportunistic reasons and motives.

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1. The term Institute refers to the Chicago Baptist Institute, an unaccredited Bible school for ministers and laymen, supported jointly by white and Negro Baptist in Illinois and partly by the American Baptist Convention Missionary Society.

TABLE 20

AGE, NUMBER AND PERCENT OF 29 CHICAGO NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS ORDAINED BETWEEN 1930-1939

Age	Number	Percent
Total:	29	100.0
40-44	4	13.8
35-39	7	24.1
30-34	3	10.3
25-29	11	38.0
20-24	2	6.9
15-19	2	6.9

We have seen the relationship between the depression years and the ordination year and age. Table 21 indicates the states in which 138 Chicago Negro Baptist ministers were ordained. Seventy, or 50.7 per cent, were ordained in Illinois. Sixty-seven (67) of this total were ordained in the city of Chicago. The only other state in which a substantial number were ordained is Mississippi, where 24, or 17.4 per cent, were ordained. The number ordained in Illinois is greater than all of the other states combined. What is the reason for this? Is there more vital challenge in the city? It is the writer's opinion that the cause is associated with the factor of population, especially the rate of and recency of southern migration to Chicago. The explanation might lay also in the folkways or the religious ways of these southern migrants. In Table 18 data was presented

TABLE 21

PLACE OF ORDINATION OF 138 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA, BY STATE AND CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

State	Total	Percent	Pastors	Assistants	Non Pastors
Total:	138	100.0	123	4	11
Illinois	70	50.7	65	3	2
Chicago	67	48.5	62	3	2
Other city	3	2.2	3	0	0
Mississippi	24	17.4	21	1	2
Arkansas	10	7.2	8		2
Alabama	6	4.4	4		2
Texas	6	4.4	5		1
Tennessee	5	3.6	5		0
Louisiana	3	2.2	3		0
Oklahoma	3	2.2	2		1
Virginia	2	1.5	2		0
Washington, D.C.	2	1.5	2		0
Georgia	1	0.7	1		0
Indiana	1	0.7	1		0
Kansas	1	0.7	1		0
Kentucky	1	0.7	1		0
Missouri	1	0.7	0		1
N.Carolina	1	0.7	1		0
S.Carolina	1	0.7	1		0

showing the low educational level of the non-whites in selected southern states from which this population comes. Moreover, it is well known that these southern states are highly agricultural in economy. In other words, the structures exists, educational, and economical, in which *Gemeinschaft*-rural orientations are likely to be abundant. The presence in Chicago of large numbers of migrants from these southern areas undoubtedly are related to the ordination patterns of the ministry. This picture of the ordination pattern of 138 Chicago ministers has implications of much value to an understanding of other urban centers to which the Negro is moving.

v. Formal training. There is much speculation, but not actual factual data on the nature, source and extent of the Baptist minister's training. This section of our report, consequently, contains four tables presenting data on the educational picture of 130 Chicago Negro Baptist ministers who gave information on their training. One implication is that we should expect to find many Gemeinschaft-rural customs especially in religious activity. Another implication is that we should expect the ministry to reflect the social characteristics of the southern rural population.

Table 22 lists the academic training of the ministers by number and per cent. The picture presented here is only an approximation. Our responses ranged from exaggeration in a very few cases to extreme modesty in the statement of academic training. In some cases, the writer has had access to listings of academic degrees conferred on men who were very modest in reporting their academic achievements. It is safe to conclude, however, that the number was rather small. Overestimation is practically negligent. In fact, many of the men who had time for a full interview stated forthrightly their level of education. In cases of uncertainty

TABLE 22

ACADEMIC TRAINING OF 130 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

Academic Training	Number	Percent
Total:	130	100.0
A.B. or B.S. Degree	25	19.2
Some College	34	26.1
Normal	1	0.7
High School Some - 14 All - 26	40	31.0
Grade School Some - 15 All - 15	30	23.0

the apparent value of personal interview and personal judgment by the investigator may have proved of some value.

Table 23 shows that 94 or 72.3 per cent of the ministers are without any kind of college degree or seminary degree. The significance of this finding seems more striking when it is compared with the Mays-Nicholson[1] finding as to college and seminary training of 591 urban Negro ministers in the early 1930's. The percentage of ministers without any kind of degree was exactly the same — 72.3 percent. In the Chicago study of 130 ministers reporting on their education, 27.7 per cent have various collegiate and semi-

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[1] Benjamin E. Mays, and J. W. Nicholson, The Negro's Church (New York: The Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), p. 302, Table 11.

TABLE 23

COLLEGIATE AND SEMINARY TRAINING OF 130 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA

Training	Number	Percent
Total:	130	100.0
Without any kind of degree	94	72.3
A.B. or B.S. only	10	7.7
A.B. and B.D. degrees	6	4.6
B.D. only	2	1.5
B. Th. only	9	6.9
A.B. and B. Th. degrees	3	2.3
A.B. and M.A. degrees	2	1.5
A.B., M.A., and B.D. degrees	1	0.7
B.S., M.A., B. Th., and B.D. degrees	1	0.7
A.B., M.A., B.D., Th. D. degrees	1	0.7
B.S., M.R.E., and Ph.D.	1	0.7

nary degrees. This was the same finding of the Mays-Nicholson study.

It is our estimate that this breakdown would be even more heavily weighted on the non-collegiate and non-seminary degree side if we had included more. Even though we did not select a sample we do believe that we tended to be in contact with the men who had received the college and seminary work. Moreover, the investigator noted that the possession of a degree was cause enough for its disclosure in most cases.

What does this mean? Is it that the Mays-Nicholson findings still apply? It is clear that they seem to be descriptive of the educational status of the Negro Baptist ministry in Chicago. It would further seem that the Mays-Nicholson study and analysis being so near the finding of this study describes a situation nationally which has not changed noticeably in 25 years.

What is the statistical breakdown of the men who have training degrees? This is shown in Tables 24 and 25.

TABLE 24

THEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF 130 NEGRO BAPTIST MINISTERS
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

Theological Training	Number	Percent
Total:	130	100.0
B.D. degree	11	8.5
B. Th.	13	10.0
M.R.E.	1	0.7
M.A.*	1	0.7
Th.D.	1	0.7
Without Seminary degree	103	79.4

* M.A. degree from the Chicago University Divinity School

Table 25 reveals that 25 men have A.B. degrees; eleven, B.D. degrees, and thirteen have B. Th. (Bachelor of Theology) degrees. The age distribution of the possessors appears significant. It indicates generally that there is a larger percentage of the younger men (ages 30-39) who have both A. B. and B. D. degrees. This indicates more men who are receiving the standard theological training — four year college and three or more years of seminary. It would be revealing to have the complete enumeration of the Chicago

TABLE 25

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINISTERS HOLDING A.B., B.D. AND B.TH. DEGREES BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

				DEGREE			
AGE	Total	A.B.	Percent	B.D.	Percent	B.Th.	Percent
Total:	130	25*		11		13	
60 and over	28	3	10.7	0	0.0	1	3.5
50-59	38	9	23.6	5	13.1	1	2.6
40-49	36	6	16.6	3	8.3	10	27.8
30-39	13	7	53.6	3	23.0	1	7.7
20-29	8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
No inf.	7						

* Includes 5 persons with B. S. degrees.

Negro Baptist ministry and determine how this percentage compared; nevertheless, it seems that it would not vary greatly from the picture being presented in this study. It is interesting to note that a larger percentage of the men in the 50's have A.B. degrees than those in the 40's. This may be explained by the tendency for the older group to have attended schools in the South whereas the younger men (age 40) began their ministry in Chicago. It would seem that the possession of a larger percentage of B. Th. degrees by the men in the 40's would support this conclusion. While some of the men with B. Th. degrees have A.B. degrees, most, and nearly all, have only the high school diploma or its equivalent. It is to be expected that the men in ages 60 and above would tend to represent a smaller percentage of the degrees. They have 10.7 per cent of the A.B. degrees; no

B.D. degrees and only 3.5 per cent of the B. Th. degrees.

The significance of these findings may lie in the indications that the younger men are obtaining standard theological training. The majority of the B. Th. programs are academically deficient in that they may represent attempts to "shorten" theological training.

The tables on formal education clearly show the wide variety and types of training of the ministers in Chicago Baptist pulpits. This situation wherein 72.3 per cent are without academic degrees may have some bearing on the pressures that make for the formation of institutions such as the Chicago Baptist Institute and similar Bible Institutes specializing in adult education in religious subjects.

3. SUMMARY

The Negro Baptist pastor in Chicago is older than his white colleague. Seventy-one per cent of such Negro pastors are over 45 years of age, as compared with 48 per cent of the American Baptist pastors and 52 per cent of the ministers of the United States as a whole. This means that the Negro pastors tend to enter the ministry at a later age than the average for Protestant ministers or their white Baptist colleagues. This also means a shorter period of ministry.

The Chicago Baptist pastor is also older than the Negro Methodist ministry of the Central Jurisdiction. Whereas 59 per cent of the Methodist Negro ministers are past 45 years of age, 71 percent of the Chicago Baptist pastors fall in this category. This implies greater recruitment needs for the Negro ministry, especially for the urban areas.

Eighty-one per cent of the Chicago pastors came from six southern states: Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana and Texas. The significance of this fact is that the educational median for the nonwhite population in 1940 and 1950 in those states was very low in comparison to that of both the white population and the nonwhite population in northern urban areas.

The Chicago Negro pastor tends to have had residence in the city for a long time. Fifty per cent have been in Chicago more than 25 years.

Many men entered the profession of the ministry in Chicago. Forty-nine per cent were ordained in Chicago. More than 40 per cent were ordained before they came in the six southern states mentioned above.

Three-fourths of the Chicago ministers have only partial or no formal academic or theological training beyond the elementary or secondary levels. This is the exact educational level for the Negro urban ministry discovered by Mays and Nicholson approximately 25 years ago. Slightly less than one out of five (18%) possess an earned professional or theological degree.

Assuming that the Chicago Negro Baptist pastor is a representative sample of the majority of the Negro religious leadership in our northern urban communities, this finding indicates a national picture which has not changed noticeably in 25 years.

This educational status, which although very low on the whole, does cover a wide range. This range from no training, to the completion of the highest academic level, the Th. D. degree, would cause one to expect a correspondingly wide range of conceptions of the ministerial role. In the following chapter, we shall seek to determine the extent to which this is an accurate appraisal.

CHAPTER V

ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

One of the important aspects of the role of the minister is his conception of his task. Equally as important are the images and expectations of the laymen. Such conceptions and expectations are especially important in the urbanization process. In our previous chapters we have indicated that the increasing urbanization of the Negro community reflects rising occupational and educational status on the one hand, and higher indices of social disorganization on the other. Moreover, we have seen that the impact of the urban North upon the religious activities of Negroes, especially those of the Negro migrants, has given new impulses for religious leadership. In the case of the lower class migrants, there has been a cultural shock which has been reflected in their religious organizations as storefront churches and cults; in the case of the middle class churches, the impact has been reflected in pressures for a more professionally trained ministry. The Negro Baptist ministry, in its characteristics, reflects the entire range of this impact upon the religious activity of the Negro community. We have discovered that while the majority of the ministers have very little academic training, there is a wide range of educational levels, probably reflecting the wide range of leadership needs which result from the urban impact on the religious orientations of the community. We turn now to a consideration of the content of these various religious orientations, especially as they are expressed as role conceptions and role expectations.

In this chapter, the results of interviews and participant-observation among the Negro Baptist ministers and laymen will be reported. Interviews were held with 161 ministers and 29 laymen and questionnaires were administered to approximately 100 youth. This chapter will be developed from these interviews and questionnaire responses. We shall begin by presenting the role conceptions of the ministers and follow this by presenting the role images and expectations of the lay adults and lay youth.

1. THE ROLE CONCEPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS

An attempt is made here to report in terms of role conceptions the responses of the Negro Baptist ministers of Chicago to three questions: 1) "What, as you see it, are the chief problems of this community?;" 2) "In your counseling, with what problems do you deal most?;" and 3) "If you had a million dollars, what would you do as a minister?" Each of these questions were "open-ended," and permitted the respondents to formulate the answers in their own words. The first question sought to discover the problems to which the ministers were sensitive. It was phrased in terms of the community in order to secure responses that could be compared with the findings of the sociological analysis of Chicago. The major assumption of the question was that there were problems of which ministers should be aware and their responses would indicate the extent of that awareness. The second question asked for an objective report of the types of problems actually dealt with in their counseling. The assumption behind the question was that the dynamic relationships between the pastor and the laymen would be revealed by the reporting of the counseling experiences and their content. The third question permitted the ministers to indicate their ideal conception of the ministerial role. It was assumed that the answers to the hypothetical questions would permit "role playing" and thereby reveal a picture of how the ministers conceived their task in relation to the problems they recognized and experienced in the Chicago community.

i. Problems. As mentioned above, this question was stated as follows: "What, as you see it, are the chief problems of this community?." Of the 161 ministers interviewed, 91 answered the question. These answers were classified into 153 separate references. These in turn were categorized into two broad groups as community-type and religious-type problems. The community-type answers totaled 82 or 54 per cent; the religious-type answers totaled 71 or 46 per cent.

(1) Community-type problems. Of those who answered this question, the majority mentioned community problems. Within this category, the largest number of references, 17, concerned housing. This was to be expected, for housing is, according to observation and sociological study, the main problem of the Negro in the urban community. This housing problem was recognized by both the trained and untrained ministers, indicating the fact that there are many problems that confront the ministers regardless of educational level. A typical reply was made by a 30 year-old minister, the pastor of a congregation of almost 3000 members:

> Our housing is a big problem here in Chicago. Sometimes it's unbelievable that our people have to live like they do. Sometimes in pastoral calling I find my members embarrassed to have their minister discover them living in such terrible conditions. Some members do not want me to call, because they do not like to have me know that they live in such run-down houses. Of course, I realize that many of them have no choice. Some of them have come way down from the types of homes they had in the South. But, it's hard to get places up here, and you know about the strife and actual violence that results when we move out of this crowded Ghetto. I find this the biggest problem of my ministry, because tied to it are so many of the immoral conditions.

This statement is typical of the replies in which the housing problem was mentioned.

(2) Urban adjustment. Next to housing, the ministers said the major problem of the community was "urban adjustment and orientation". In many cases these were the actual words used, although there were other terms. Some ministers said, "people have to learn how to live in the city". Others said, "it's hard to adjust to city living", or "lack of urban experience makes for all the problems". Whatever, the manner of phrasing, the ministers as a whole identified the main problem as that of rural people adjusting to city ways. Again this recognition was without regard to the extent of training. It was observed that men of low educational status would phrase the problem in the same manner as the men of the higher educational levels.

(3) Other related problems. In order of descending frequency the ministers made references to such problems as crime, juvenile delinquency, economics, destitution, and uneducated people. In each case they insisted that these problems are located in the problems of urban adjustment and in the influence of the housing situation upon the family life of the Negro community. Many of them referred to "the lack of guidance", the "low morals", "lack of recreational facilities", "lack of discipline in homes". In each case however, these references were mentioned in the context of social or community-type problems.

These references to community-type problems indicate that the Negro minister recognized a wide range of problems. There was no instance in which a Negro minister was not able to state these problems clearly. It indicates that the problems of the Negro community are so evident that their recognition does not provide a crucial test of the differences in training. Probably a more crucial test will be found in the reports of, and elaborations upon, the counseling relationships. The extent to which this is true will be noted below.

Before we move to the counseling reports, attention must be given to a large number of religious-type responses that were given along with the responses to the specific inquiry about community problems. We turn to these in the next section.

(4) Religious-type problems. Although the references to religious-type problems are less than the community-type, the difference is very slight; and since they arose in response to an inquiry about community-type problems, they are significant. It was expected that the open-ended questions would elicit many types of answers. But it was not expected that the range of answers would be so wide. Religious-type answers in the order of their frequency, concerned (1) "poor leadership" either of the ministers' training, committment, or teaching emphasis, (2) "poor followership" in connection with lay opposition to ministerial leadership or lack of support of church, and (3) "Roman Catholic influ-

ence" upon youth through recreation, and upon adults, through charity.

(i) Poor leadership. Forty-five references, or 63 per cent, of all the religious-type answers concerned some aspect of "poor leadership". The ministers said the leadership was "corrupt", "crowd conscious", and characterized by a "lack of cooperation among ministers". Some ministers said the problem was due to "untrained ministers" who "don't know that the church is". Others explained that because "many preachers in the South did not have to preach every Sunday" and that all they know how to do is "preach and collect", they are not adequate for leadership in the city.

In this same connection, some of the ministers located the problem of "poor leadership" in the lack of teaching emphasis. As one minister said, "whooping is not enough". Its inadequacy is revealed in the fact that we are "losing our intellectuals and youth because of it". Other ministers placed the cause of the low leadership level in the"lack of doctrinal teaching", or the "lack of Bible teaching".

This concern with the leadership is best illustrated by the remarks of a 40 year-old minister, a part-time pastor of a small suburban church. He replied to the question about community problems as follows:

> The main thing up here is with our leadership. People will do anything here. The biggest and the saddest thing I've run into is preachers buying churches. I know of a preacher who put up $500 with a deacon to get a church. The deacon did not deliver on the deal, and the preacher killed him. A lot of that goes on and it's awful.
>
> Chicago changes preachers. I met a preacher up here from Texas and he came up to me and showed me a big wad of money. I knew he didn't get that much preaching so I asked him how he got so much money. It turned out that he had stopped preaching and had gone to gambling-playing policy. He said to me that you can't make any money preaching.

This illustration demonstrates the range of references to the problem of leadership cited by the Chicago ministers. It implies that some ministers are not honest and often enter into dishonest deals with laymen. Moreover, it implies that not only do some men leave the ministry, but that some of those who remain, should not be in it.

The above illustration also implies that the Chicago ministers feel that part of the problem of the community is due to the type of "followers" who, as the minister above relates "enter into deals with ministers." The references to the "followership" will be considered next.

(ii) Poor followership. Some ministers said that the main religious problem was the lack of a trained laity. A 35 year-old pastor of a small storefront church said, "It's hard to teach older laymen". Another storefront minister, age 45, said, "We need trained laity as well as trained ministers". Still another group of ministers referred to the problem of laymen in their church relationships. They said, "the people forget the church" or "the church can't hold them once they get here", and in addition, "people in Chicago change churches with ease". One minister analyzed the problem as one of secularization and said "church people and worldly people are the same up here; in the South there is a difference".

This problem of "followership" was evident in recent court cases involving some of the largest churches in the Chicago area. One of the largest churches, reputed to be a church of the upper classes, was in the process of litigation with its minister whom it had barred by court order from entering the pulpit. The minister involved was a highly trained minister, the only man in the area with a Th. D. degree. During the field survey, an interview was held with this pastor, who had just organized a new church. He had this to say about the Chicago Baptist laymen:

> Part of the problem of the ministry is due to the layman. The reason a lot of young men aren't entering the ministry is because they feel it doesn't pay. Then too, there is a lack of appreciation for leadership. The people are not conversant with religion in its basic teaching and are ignorant of its application to life. I have given the best years of my life to the ministry. I'm not sorry, for I have followed an urge from childhood in deciding to be a minister.

> But the laymen present a problem. They'll fight you and smile in your face. I've been through the experience. You leave them all smiles as I did a few months ago. I left and went to the East only to return and find that the laymen were barring me from my pulpit. I was equal to them, however, I got the biggest Bible I could find, and made an attempt to go into the pulpit with that Bible in my hand. When I was barred, of course, the photographers were there to take pictures, and they got me holding this big Bible. I was serious, for I don't feel that any small group of laymen have the right to keep a man of God out of his pulpit.

This experience reflects the numerous fights which Baptists have in their independently controlled churches.

In a similar case, one of the leading denominational officers had recently been expelled from his church, reportedly, in a struggle with his congregation over some of the actions and remarks of his son. When the survey was being conducted, this pastor had just moved from a small church on the Southside, to a recently purchased Synagogue on the West side.

These problems of leadership and followership require some explanation. Why is it that there were so many references to these problems since the question was asked in regard to community problems? The answer can be found in the sociological findings about minority leadership in the American Society. Bunche[1] says: "There is an almost universal tendency among Negroes to declare that Negro leadership is 'bad'...this is not a Negro trait, however, for it is common to America to relate social problems to the quality of leadership."

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[1] Ralph Bunche, "A Brief and Tentative Analysis of Negro Leadership", p. 50.

Woodson, in his study of the Negro Professional Man has a chapter on the Negro preachers. One of his findings is that there are many complaints about the leadership. He says that while most of the ministers were silent to a query about the greatest needs of the church, "the larger percentage...expressed the thought that its greatest need is better leadership."[1] Woodson says those that did speak of it, qualified this leadership need as follows: "spiritual leadership", "moral leadership", with a large number stressing "prepared leadership". Thus, we see, that the responses about the need for leaders fits into a larger pattern as far as surveys of this type are concerned.

Another insight into the reason for the complaints about leadership may be found in Kardiner and Ovesey's discussion of the "basic personality" of the Negro in America.[2] Speaking of the problem of relatedness the authors write:

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1. Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man (Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1934), p. 73.

2. A. Kardiner, and L. Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression pp. 308-309.

> It is...very significant that the lower-class Negro is an inveterate 'joiner' in one kind of social voluntary organization or another, or clubs and cliques with high-sounding names and with much ritualism in initiation rites. In these organizations, which have a very short life span, there is continuous discord, jockeying for position and prestige, and insistence that each member must have his own way. In other words, through these clubs and associations, the Negro tries to compensate for his lack of relatedness. But for the greater part, he fails. The intrapsychic mistrust and need for dominance destroy the effectiveness of these compensatory efforts.
>
> This is a noteworthy feature of Negro life, because the social organizations are supposed to facilitate cooperative endeavor and to give the members the satisfaction of belonging to something, to diminish their isolation. This end is not accomplished because most of the energy of these 'associations' is taken up with overcoming mutual distrust and very little energy goes into the mutual supportative aspects of the organization.

This psychodynamic analysis of the Negro's "basic personality" may help to explain the recurrence of the complaints concerning leadership among the Negro minority.

If this is partial explanation for the complaints of "poor leadership" and even "poor followership" then we must not attribute the references to these problems as being due exclusively to the respondents' lack of Christian perspective. If Kardiner and Ovesey have come anywhere close to identifying the real cause of this tendency, then, we have to regard these complaints as due to the social environment in which the Negro lives. Moreover, if this is true, we must expect these types of replies in the studies of the leadership structures of the Negro's organized activity in the United States.

(iii) Roman Catholic inroads. Several ministers were concerned about the Roman Catholic influence. Some recognized that the Catholic recreational ministry was having success with the young people. These ministers did not find that they could be neutral about this type of influence. Their first tendency was to blame the Catholics for "allowing everything". These ministers felt that the Catholics really had no appeal for the Negro except that they "gave people clothing". Other ministers felt that the Catholics were successful because the Baptist had failed to spend their money wisely. Some said that "we've been too much on doctrine, failing to realize that there is room enough in the doctrine for young people to enjoy themselves in ways in keeping with their religion." One minister who was somewhat ambivalent on the problem of Catholic influence seemed to say, that what was good for the Catholic Priest was good for the Baptist minister. This minister, commenting on how the Priest always manages to keep a man in contact with the church said: "Father will say, 'don't drink, and get drunk; but if you do, then, by all means come to church'." There is sarcasm in this remark, but one can detect a bit of chiding of the Baptists as well. It is typical of the ambivalence which some of the Negro ministers feel toward the Catholics.

This ambivalence toward the Catholics was not present in the remark of a part-time minister, a barber. This minister frankly admitted that the type of program he envisioned for Chicago people was a Catholic-type institution, with a school, and homes for all types of needs including sickness, old folks and girls-in-trouble.

That this was indeed a problem for the Chicago Baptists is substantiated by the observations of the writer. It was noted that there were large numbers of Negro youngsters in the Catholic schools and nurseries. It was noted further that at school time near some of the parochial schools, there were long lines of Negro mothers waiting in cars for their children to be dismissed. In fact, one mother, a Baptist, remarked:

> I care very much about the type of training and supervision my child gets and the Catholics are able to give him what I'd like for him to have. The Baptist churches have terrible Sunday schools, and they don't really have a religious education program. The Catholics do have a religious education. Besides, when your child goes to the Parochial school, he doesn't have to get caught in this "half-a-day" school business that the public school board is pulling off down here on the South side.

These remarks are typical of those of many laymen who talked with the investigator. They indicate, partly, the basis for the ministers' concerns with the Roman Catholic influence. The ministers seem to appreciate the advantages of organization which the Catholics have, but they did not show much serious concern with it in their own ideal conceptions of their task in regard to these problems.

Thus in the religious-type answers to the query about community problems were found a significantly large number who were concerned with "poor leadership", "poor followership" and "the Roman Catholic influence". It shows that the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers like most Protestant ministers, are constantly aware of the religious side of all questions, even when they give realistic recognition to the many social problems that weigh heavily upon them.

If this picture is correct, then it would be expected that the counseling problems of the ministers would reflect a similar pattern of community-type and religious-type problems. We turn next to the counseling problems to discover the extent to which this is true.

ii. Counseling problems. Another question asked of the ministers was: "In your counseling, with what problems do you deal most?" Sixty-five ministers provided information on this question. They gave 108 responses. By far, the most numerous concerned family and personal problems, totalling 34. The next highest was juvenile delinquency with several of the men pointing out that they encountered such problems in the over-all family situations. References to specific religious problems were very small, with only 6 being mentioned. Thus, of the total number of counseling problems reported, 58 per cent dealt with family and personal problems; 31 per cent with social and economic problems; 6 per cent with religious problems and 6 per cent with educational and legal problems.

This situation indicates that the types of problems recognized by the ministers were reflected in the counseling. It will be remembered that the community-type problem had a slight majority over the religious-type. The small number of religious-type problems, however, contrasts sharply with the large number of such problems recognized by the ministers. Evidently, the religious problems are not major items in the every-day activity of the minister.

This large contrast between the numerous references to the religious-type problems on the one hand, but the very small number of references to it in actual counseling, raises a serious question about the role conceptions of the minister in regard to counseling. How can a man who is primarily concerned with religious problems, adequately deal with problems that do not announce themselves in terms of leadership, followership, and Roman Catholics? The problems of the self-image of the minister seems to be very important at this point.

One older minister, 71 years of age and pastor of a medium-size church, made a comment that shows how concerned the minister is with the counseling situation. He said:

> ...they don't come for counseling, but they should. The need is great. There is a woman across the street who has six children and each of them by a different father. She is living off the welfare, but she is certainly getting no better. The woman needs some type of Christian counseling. But will she come to get it? She certainly will not. I'm concerned about it, I guess we just can't sit back and wait for them to come. I'd like to open a clinic in which to advise people.

This minister, revealed an authoritative type role, although he was appraising it in questioning whether it was adequate. His wish for a clinic, indicates that he is thinking along more effective lines.

Another minister, this time a younger minister of about 45 years of age, gave some insight into possible reasons why people do not come to the minister for counseling. Discussing the problem this minister said:

> The counseling problems I have are with family troubles—marriage relations and relative troubles. One thing I note is that people don't want the pastor to know too much about their internal troubles. You like to know why? It's because a lot of pastors want a fee. I had a woman offer me a fee for giving her some advice. When I refused she was shocked and told me that she offered the fee because she thought I, like other

ministers, expected it and would take it.

The moderator of one of the associations in the Chicago area indicated some difficult counseling problems, and was frank to admit that they puzzled him. He responded to the counseling question as follows:

> I don't know what to do about some of the counseling cases I've got. I get these sex and dope cases. For example, I had three cases this week concerned with sex problems. Some of the hard problems involve girls who go into the WACS. I have a few who after returning home begin going out with girls not boys and men. When this gets mixed up with dope, as it has, then I'm baffled. I'm depending on young men, like you (the investigator) to help us out.

Two things are important in this comment by the 49 year-old minister: though only partially trained, he showed insight into deep counseling needs, for dope addicts require the most skilled type of counseling; also he showed insight into training needs in connection with counseling, even though any one investigator could never be the complete answer. This comment is significant for it shows what an untrained man's role might be in the midst of some of the most difficult counseling problems to be found anywhere.

Most of their counseling problems, according to the pastors, pertain to domestic problems. This is to be expected, for it is a sociological commonplace in Negro sociology that the Negro family, especially in the urban community, is highly disorganized. Frazier has shown that the Negro family in America is based on unique conditions developed in slavery, when families were separated if it served the commercial interest of the plantation owners. It was in Chicago that Frazier made his pioneering study in American family life. We now note that the ministers indicate that this typically broken, and matriarchial-type family provides the majority of their counseling problems. Again they reflect the sociological patterns in which the Negro community as a whole is located. What does this query tell us about the role of the minister?

Some of the Chicago ministers expect the people to receive Christian counseling, but they are worried because the people do not come to them to receive it. In this sense, these ministers have an authoritative self-image, implying that they have the answers for which people ought to come. Others are overwhelmed with problems of such complexity that they are seeking help. They do not find that the problems are clearly religious in the sense that people come with religiously stated problems. Yet many of the ministers, in reporting their counseling problems, seemed to indicate that helping people was simply a matter of giving advice. This is, however, an impression of the observer and cannot be supported by concrete evidence since there was no question that specifically asked for data by which this could be more objectively measured.

There was a question, however, whereby some discovery could be made of what the ministers considered the way out of their difficult counseling and problem situations. This was the hypothetical question which asked what they would do as a minister and pastor, if they had all of the financial resources they wanted. We turn next to a report of the responses of the ministers to this question.

iii. Future visions. In order to get indications of the ministers' ideal conceptions of his role, the question was asked: "If you had a million dollars, what would you do as a minister?" Sixty-seven ministers responded to the question and their answers were classified into 100 references. In these responses attention was directed to the ministers' dominant concerns. What were those concerns?

More than one third, or 37 per cent, wished to engage in a building program. The majority wished to build churches, but with facilities for an institutional ministry. Nearly always those who made references to church building coupled it with the desire to develop a program of recreation and religious education for youth. In fact, the references to the recreation and religious education program totaled 32 and were by far the items most frequently mentioned. Other men stated their concern with youth and older folks by saying that they would "build community houses", "build a boy's town" and a "place for girls in trouble", or "build a home for the aged".

Combining the references to building and those in which mention was made of the type of program for which they would build, there were 74 of 100 references indicating that the men felt that the need involved facilities and that their role was to provide such facilities for the community. It is interesting to note that these types of dreams were expressed by all types of men, the trained and untrained, of the conventional and the unconventional type church buildings. A typical expression of the concern with building for a community centered program was expressed by a 70 year old minister, the pastor of the largest church serving southern migrants. This minister held highly emotional services, had a regular Sunday afternoon radio broadcast, and combined several types of social welfare services such as ambulance service, rooms for destitute families, and a cafeteria for transient men. In response to the "millionaire" question he commented:

> If I had that much money, I'd like to do something for our young folk. I'd build a boy's town; and then I'd build a place for girl's in trouble. A lot of our girls who get in trouble have no place to go, so they start hanging around with bad company 'cause they are embarrassed and they have to get some type of support. A lot of girls get in trouble here

> in Chicago. All of the preaching in the world can't do what you could do if you had a place for them to go showing that you really wanted to help them. As for the boys, well, when they get in trouble with the law, about the only place they can go is to jail 'cause we've got no place for them.

It is noticeable that this minister mentioned nothing about church centered religious education. He centered his dreams upon the large community problems. The comment is even more striking because this minister told the observer that he had less than a grammar school education.

There were other references which, though few, were significant. Four ministers said they would develop "counseling programs" which indicated their concern with the serious needs in this area. There were five references to the needs for missionaries, with ministers saying they "~~would~~ hire missionaries to assist in visiting in the community". Two references recognized the need for financial assistance and indicated that "loaning money to people in need" was a role which the minister and the church ought to provide. There were, strikingly enough, only two references of a personal nature. One minister wished to "do a better job as a pastor". Another said he would "give full time to the church".

It cannot help but be noticed that there was one important omission in these "ideal" dreams and role conceptions.

There was no reference to cooperative action. This may be explained by the nature of the question and the interview. Nevertheless, the observer noted that rarely were the dreams cast cooperatively. They were conceived mostly as independent action. It is probably against this background of an apparent independent role that the lone remark of a 45 year old minister, pastor of a growing South side conventional type church is so significant. He said that if he had all the resources, he would like "to be more active in the local Chicago Church Federation". In addition to the knowledge that at least two of the Chicago Negro Baptist pastors were active in the Federation, this was the only reference to the cooperative ecumenical approach made in the responses to the "if" question.

As significant, however, as is the lone reference to the "cooperative Christianity" movement, there is another observation that emerges from the responses to this vision of the future. In this list of one hundred references to the ideal role, none is made with respect to self improvement through education. The closest that any pastor came to it was in the remark of the one who said with his unlimited resources he "would do a better job as a pastor". But even in this case no direct reference was made to education. The explanation for this might be due to the limitation of the interview situation. Probably more time, would have enabled the ministers to explore the whole range of their potential visions. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that education was not mentioned. Evidently, these ministers, several of whom saw a leadership problem in the lack of trained ministers, do not basically consider education important to that ministry. Or it may be that the ministers have so many community problems forcing their way upon them that they conceive of the institutional church and themselves as administrators, the planners, and executives, as the first and immediate next step they would take with the availability of unlimited resources.

It is this institutional role which emerges from the responses to the "if" or the "millionaire" question. The composite picture of the minister's conception indicates a theocratic role with the church as the center of the life of the Negro community. The ministers, seem to feel that the problems of the community, and the problems encountered in their counseling could be met ideally in an institutional fashion with the minister as group planner, group spokesman, group representative. These ministers have a model; it is the Roman Catholic organization. One minister, frankly said that he would like to start a program similar to that of the Roman Church, with its schools, recreational facilities, orphanages and homes for girls. But even so, the types of programs desired by most of the ministers seem to fit into this pattern. That this Catholic organization is the model, appears to emerge from the ambivalent criticisms which the men voiced. This is, of course, a highly subjective appraisal, but it seems to be the indication of the data from combined interview results coupled with participant-observation of the manner in which the responses were made.

This conception of the administrative leader in planning for an institutional church in a theocratic type Negro community borders on a charismatic conception. Since, however, charismatic leaders are also defined by the images of the followers, it is important to pay attention to the role images and role expectations of the laymen. To what extent do they conceive of the minister's role as an institutional, administrative, charismatic one? We will seek the bearing which the laymen have upon the role by exploring their role images and expectations.

2. THE ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE LAITY

Like the ministers', the problem here is to attempt to translate the responses of the laity, both adults and youth, into role conceptions and expectations. To secure these conceptions, five questions were asked. Both adults and the youth were asked the questions: "What three things do you expect a minister (any minister) to do?" "Do you think a minister needs special training for his job?" In connection with the latter question, we also asked the adults and the youth to give a reason for their answer. In addition to the questions about the minister's job and his preparation, two separate questions were asked of the youth and one of the adult. The youth were asked: "Why do you think young people aren't going into the ministry today?" and "What do you understand a "call" to the ministry to mean?" The question asked especially of the adults was: "What do people around here think of the Negro Baptist ministry?"

Responses to the question about the job of the minister, or specifically, "What three things do you expect a minister (any minister) to do?" were 62 references from 29 adults and 159 references from 62 youth. These are recognized as a very small response and no attempt will be made to assert their statistical validity. It is believed, however, that they are suggestive. The laymen were mostly white collar workers, although an effort was made to interview laymen in both conventional and storefront churches. Judging from the types of responses the observer had with lay adults in his visits to both orthodox and storefront churches, it is the writer's judgment that the responses of the laymen listed here are fruitful for the illustrative purposes of this study. In the case of the youth, the replies represent a cross section of the conventional and storefront churches, although the numbers are small. The replies include those from two storefront churches and two large conventional churches on the Southside of Chicago. In addition, they also include replies from two churches on the West side of Chicago; one from a large sized congregation, the other from a medium sized one. The youth responses were taken from a questionnaire, the adult responses were secured in interviews with a schedule. In the cases where the adult responses were not taken with a guide, they were asked to respond to the few questions, which were memorized by the investigator.

i. The job of the minister. The responses to the question about the job of the minister were classified as counselor, leader, teacher, pastor, and personal traits. More than one out of four adults stressed the ministers' role as pastor (17 in number), whereas almost one in three of the youth stressed the personal traits of the minister. Both the adults tend to stress in descending order the pastor and preacher role. Nevertheless, the youth tend to associate the minister's role more with personal traits than the adults. A few actual references may be illuminating.

The youth expected the minister to be something more than to do something as we analyze their replies. They expected him to be "honest", "faithful", "dependable", "a Christian". The adults expected the minister to "visit the sick", "save souls", and "to minister and pastor".

It is very interesting to note that the expectations of the minister as counselor received the smallest of the total references for both groups. They expect preaching and teaching, but not much counseling. This seems to be evidence in support of the ministers' report that people do not come to them for counseling. Maybe the answer to the low expectation in counseling can be explained by the expectations concerning the training of the minister.

ii. The preparation of the minister. To the question as to whether a minister or a person deciding for the ministry should have special training, 27 laymen and 45 youth replied. Of this total of 72, only 8 said that they did not think a minister needed special training. Their reasons, as expected were conventional. They said training was not needed because "sincerity is enough" or "God will speak to a person and teach him", or "a man just needs common sense to preach". These reasons are primarily those of the youth. Six, of the 45 youth stated that no training was necessary.

A typical adult explanation for the need for training was because "a man can hardly minister with less education than me", or he should be educated because, "members are becoming better educated and the minister should stay ahead". The majority of the youth said training was needed for the minister "to be a better teacher of the Bible". Nineteen youth, of the 45 gave this statement as the reason for the need for training.

Several of the ministers listed as their complaint against the leadership that it was untrained. It is clear from this listing of the expectation of the laity that they expect the minister to be trained in the light of rising standards and for the needs of competent instruction in the Bible. In a previous chapter, however, it was discovered that on the whole the ministry was not very well trained. It becomes important, therefore to discover what the adults discover or report about the community opinion of the Negro Baptist ministry.

iii. What people think about the Negro Baptist ministry in Chicago. In order to get lay adults to share with us the opinions of the community about the Baptist ministry they were asked a general question. The question was designed to secure their frank discussion of the subject assuming that they respond more readily, if the the question permits them to report what others think. It was recognized that this would also give the lay adult an opportunity to present some of his own views assured that he was not revealing his lack of respect. Twenty-nine adults answered, giving 38 references. The largest number of references pertained to the character of the ministers. It was reported that the people considered ministers as "frauds" partly because "too many are seen at race tracks where unchurched people go". One adult said that "the majority are crooked". There were some more positive views. "Most respect them" said one layman. "Most hold them in high esteem", said another.

Thirteen of the lay adults, almost half, spoke of the service aspects of the ministry saying that the ministers "aren't reaching the unchurched", that "they are lagging behind and people can't be bothered". One adult said, "they have community houses but they aren't using them", indicating that even if some of the dreams of building are accomplished, there was still a need for dedication and attention to program. In this connection one layman thought the ministers were "doing a pretty good job considering what they had to work with".

In this report on the community's appraisal of the ministry, there is a greater evidence of conflicting viewpoints than on any other discovered in this study. It may be that the adults did try to report what others thought more than they gave their own. It would be expected that many of the loyal people who support the churches, do feel that the minister is doing a good job or his program would not be supported by the thousands observed to attend the churches.

iv. Why young people are not entering the ministry and the understanding of a "call". Another approach to the role conceptions and expectations of the ministry can be secured from the youth's responses to queries about why they think the ministry is not attractive, and what they understand a "call" to the ministry to mean. Sixty responses were secured from the first question; fifty-two from the second. Generally, the youth felt that the ministry was not attractive because of the personal inadequacy of the youth of today. In addition, they felt that the desire for recreation and fun was the next major reason for the failure to consider the ministry. In reference to the meaning of a "call" the majority of the fifty-two who responded, approximately thirty understood it to mean a vision. Very few interpreted it as a serious life's decision. The remainder of the answers were vague.

The total responses of the youth to all of the questions, including the question of the attractiveness of the ministry and the "call" can be illustrated by a group of total responses.

The generality of the conception of the minister's role is brought out by one youth of 16, born in Arkansas, and who had been in Chicago for four years. He wrote his answers to our questions as follows:

> Young people aren't taking up the ministry because you "have to be holy and they can't stand the test". A minister's job is to lead people in the right way, and to keep the understanding of the church. I think a minister should have special preparation for his job though

> I don't know how much. He needs it to lead people, especially God's people. I understand a 'call' to mean one called by God to preach the Gospel.

A 17 year old girl, born in Illinois and in her first year of college whose ambition was to be a teacher, wrote:

> Youth are not entering the ministry because there is a lack of spiritual training in homes. The minister's job is to preach, counsel, and be a leader for others to follow. He should have training in order to teach. A 'call' means to me to preach the word, save souls, understand problems, share experiences.

One girl, 19 years of age, a native of Illinois and in her second year of teacher's college, included a reason and a suggestion in her answer to the question as to why young people were not choosing the ministry as a profession. She wrote:

> Many youth are not choosing the ministry today because our high school training is geared to other trades, etc. I think we should have courses in the ministry in our schools.

Still another 18 year old girl, a high school graduate said that the ministers are the reasons youth aren't entering the ministry. She wrote: "Insincerity of present ministers is the main reason; they don't do what they preach."

Some youth gave evidence of mature thought to the questions. A 22 year old girl, a native of Illinois, and member of a large church wrote:

> Lack of interest in the ministry and the fact that a social stigma is attached to

> the ministry are reasons youth aren't attracted to the ministry today. The three things I expect a minister to do are: minister to people, educate and inform as to civic and social and religious matters. The minister should be trained because any profession needs training—ministers, especially because of the stereotype that they are uneducated. A 'call' to the ministry means a sincere and serious decision, the same as a doctor's decision to help and that of teachers to educate. It is an inside urge, strongly and keenly felt.

This youth evidently feels that the present status of the ministry serves as a hindrance to recruitment. It would appear that she does not subscribe to a charismatic conception of the ministry.

3. SUMMARY

The following generalizations seemed indicated by the data: 1) Although several men replied in terms of their multiple roles—the ministerial and the social—the degree to which this was done did not seem to be a function of training. 2) A significant majority (seventy-four per cent) conceived of an executive or administrative role in connection with building and developing programs of an institutional church to serve the needs of youth, older people, in counseling, recreation and welfare. 3) But, in terms of these executive-institutional roles, most of the men conceived of the job as an independent one. 4) In spite of some of these "ideal" and "preferred" role conceptions, the actual role on which the men majored was the preaching role, in action, in discussion, in the main features at ministers' conferences - "the order of the day", and in their local Bible training Institute. 5. Although most of the men recognized the problems of cultural change, urban readjustment, they did so in moralistic terms, being so much a part of the problem (probably as a result of storefront struggle for existence) they revealed a noticeable lack of sociological perspective. 6) Many men were cognizant of a recreational role which had to be filled, but could not fill it due to "poor leadership" and "contentious followership". 7) Some men, although a small number, held a charismatic conception of their role, validated, they insisted by their "call", and conceived as a role without need for academic training, and supported, by a group—charismatic groups who provided an objective basis for this conception.

General inferences about the youth's role expectations include the following points: 1) they overwhelmingly stress personal characteristics, indicating a charismatic conception, 2) youth conceive a call in the traditional manner. 3) youth verbalize their recreational desires, or desires for fun, as contrary to Christian-ways — feeling that it is a major factor in the lack of youth's consideration of the ministry as a profession.

The laymen, were also asked their conceptions of the job of the minister, what people thought about the Baptist ministry and whether training was necessary. Their role conception seemed to be: 1) Laymen stressed the traditional aspects of "character", "practicing what one preaches". 2) Laymen are ambivalent toward the minister; they criticize with greater facility than they can state his job. The criticisms are very sharp: "ministers don't use community centers", ministers frequent race tracks too often", "some are in it for profit", "most are in it for what they can get", "too many frauds", "very few meeting peoples' needs". When discussing the minister's job: of 62 references, 32, or 52 per cent were in the priest-pastor category. Here most of the references dealt with "preaching" and "teaching". Only 10, or 16 per cent were social.

CHAPTER VI

GESELLSCHAFT NECESSITIES AND THE NEGRO MINISTRY

This chapter is intended to serve two purposes. First, it seeks to consider the situational factors which influence the definition of leadership in addition to the factors of role traits, role conceptions and role expectations. In chapters II and III we discussed the impact of urbanization upon two aspects of the Negro community—his social characteristics and his religious activity. Chapters IV and V have dealt with the field data reporting the characteristics of the ministers, and their relations to the more dynamic factors of role conceptions and role expectations. The purpose of this chapter in part, is to relate to some of these conceptions and expectations, the situational factors connected with urbanization as described in chapters II and III.

The second purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the ministerial roles of the Chicago Negro Baptist minister in terms of emerging roles growing out of some of the situational factors. There are certain necessities that are connected with social relations and institutional activity that emerge from the nature of urbanism as a way of life. In addition, there are relevant roles for the church and the ministry in two orientations with which it has always been concerned —

race and religion. Consequently, an attempt will be made to compare some of the discovered roles, actual and expected, which characterize the Negro minister as well as those roles which inevitably arise from urbanism as a way of life, from the nature of race relations and integration necessities in the urban community, and from those of ecumenical Christianity.

This chapter seeks to treat two aspects of the hypothesis of this dissertation: the way in which the urban impact upon the Negro community creates acute needs for a trained leadership, and the requirements of the independent Negro Church for an organization compatible with institutionalized ecumenical Christianity. No attempt will be made to give exhaustive treatment to these propositions. The aim is to consider them in connection with our discussion of the roles of the urban Negro ministry.

The plan of development of this chapter is as follows: first we will describe the urban necessities in terms of our theoretical orientation, Toennies ideal-type concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in order to discuss both societal types and institutions; second, a presentation of a related leadership role typology by which to discuss the Chicago ministry by sociological types; third, the necessities of organization, integration and ecumenicity will be discussed as emerging roles. Secondary and primary data will be used to develop each section.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEAL-TYPE GESELLSCHAFT SOCIETY

One convenient way to identify the necessities of the urban way of life is to examine its characteristics in terms of Toennies' ideal-type concepts of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft. As pointed out in the introduction to this dissertation, this typology will permit classification of both societal types and also of orientations to action. Stotts suggests the following characteristics for the discussion of the bi-pola types.

TABLE 26

IDEAL TYPE ANALYSIS COMPARISON OF GESELLSCHAFT AND GEMEINSCHAFT INSTITUTIONS

Characteristics	GEMEINSCHAFT	GESELLSCHAFT
Cultural Norms	Simple	Complex
Communication	Direct	Indirect
Social Control	Direct Action	Agents
Symbolic Loyalties	Emotional	Teleological
Number of members	Sparse and few	Dense and many
Leadership	Crescive, emergent, group image	Enacted, skilled
Conservation	Marked, concern for group preservation	Limited loyalties

Source: H. Stotts, Introduction to Sociology of Religion, p. 241.

In order to set up the nature of urban, Gesellschaft necessities for our discussion of organizational, integrational and ecumenical imperatives, we will discuss each characteristic in sequence, using the same as Stotts, the church as a referent.

Before the presentation and discussion of the characteristics, however, attention should be directed to the fact that the urban Gesellschaft characteristics are dependent upon the rural Gemeinschaft backgrounds or factors which grow out of folk society. Wirth says:

> ...we should not expect to find abrupt and discontinuous variation between urban and rural types of personality. The city and the country may be regarded as two poles in reference to one or the other of which all human settlement tend to arrange themselves.[1]

With this caution, we, like Wirth, seek merely, "to call attention to the interrelations between them by emphasizing the peculiar characteristics of the city as a particular form of human association."[2] At this point Wirth develops a number of sociological propositions dealing with the relationships of population numbers, density, and heterogeneity. Stotts, has conceptualized these sociological propositions into the characteristics presented in Table 26 above. Recognizing this translation, then, of the basic findings of urbanism as a way of life we may now proceed to discuss the characteristics of *Gesellschaft* society upon the institutional arrangement of the church. The relevance for our study is that the church provides the institutional structure for the roles of the ministry.

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[1] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", in Paul K. Hatt and A. J. Riess, Jr., (ed) Reader in Urban Sociology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

i. *Complexity*. Life becomes complex in the technological changes, the new bases of economic activity, and the competition for jobs. Institutions reflect this complexity in becoming secondary, impersonal, and very complicated. When this is translated into the life of the church, there results, technical specialists in all of the roles that previously were parts of one role. For example, the role of mimeographing becomes professionalized in the printer and the publisher, and notices placed on the bulletin board, become matters of concern to specialists in news, such as the urban journalists. In other words, the requirements of *efficiency* dominate, being modeled on techniques of the inventive association often developed in other than religious fields. Consequently church members begin to demand the same type of efficiency of the church as an institution, and the ministry as a profession, that are made of all other institutions. Such demands create pressures for specialization in church organization. Thus, the traditional unitary role of the minister is supplemented by professional educators of religion, choir directors, social welfare workers and the like. These specialists, for the most part, are demanded because of the fact that the "Gesellschaft culture is replete with crises".[1] This requires the prepared man, who can fulfill the functional demands for activities desired and needed by people or laity, which they cannot fulfill themselves. Clarifying this point, Stotts says:

> American religious institutions need specialists in such areas as Social Work and each of its sub-divisions, in public welfare, in all of the phases of the labor union movement, in institutional chaplaincies, in institutional church work, in school administration, in home missions administration and supervision to name a few generic ones.[2]

ii. Indirect communication. This characteristic contrasts, of course, with the Gemeinschaft face-to-face communication. Gesellschaft-secondary society and institutional activity is one-way rather than two-way as in the rural type society or institution. For example, in the church, the method of communication becomes projective, and associated with circularization and wholesale telephoning as the habitual means of contacting the dispersed constituency.[3] In fact, the community increasingly judges the church by the nature and quality of its indirect communication. Consequently, the problem of effective mass communication becomes the concern of the church. Such concern grows out of the very nature of Gesellschaft urbanism as a way of life.

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[1] See Stotts, Introduction to Sociology of Religion, p. 246.

[2] Ibid., p. 246.

[3] H. Paul Douglass and Edmund deS. Brunner, The Protestant Church as A Social Institution (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 92.

iii. Action through agents. The very nature of secondary institutional life requires representative action. Participation is lessened by both the anonymity and the complexity of Gesellschaft society. Although the church tends to preserve its Gemeinschaft orientations for identifications with its agents, it is affected by the urban structure, and tends to require or develop skilled agents as its representatives. Such representatives, to be effective, must be capable of projecting their personalities, and playing multiple roles to complex groups with Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft orientations.

iv. Teleological symbolic loyalties. Secondary institutions are rooted in rational, intellectual and purposive goals. Consequently, any remaining traditional loyalties, will soon be coupled with the urbanways of novelty and mass communication. For example, the spirituals of the rural South, become gospel songs of the urban North, which are highly commercialized by publishing and music companies.

v. Number of Members—dense and many. Population size, of course, is one of the main criteria of the census classification of urban and rural areas. In addition to mere size, however, is the important fact of interaction and resulting differentiation between individuals. This is one of the reasons why secondary groups become necessary. Some means must be found to weld into effective action, diverse, isolated people. Such density of population, and the resulting differentiation necessitates organized cooperative activity in religious institutions in the city.

vi. Enacted leadership. All of the characteristics above that are associated with Gesellschaft institutions, complexity, indirect communication, representative action, purposive behavior and populous areas converge in the appointed-type leader. Such a person's leadership is enacted, in that he comes to the group by appointment and recommendation rather than by development from within the group. Skill is a basic requirement, along with the qualities of the aggressive, dominant, yet humble personality.

vii. Limited group loyalties. Purpose-centered rather than person-centered goals and loyalties dominate in the secondary group. The criterion of efficiency rather than consideration, is used to judge, select and evaluate leaders. Stotts implies that the Church's traditional method of judging its ministers, might be dysfunctional to its aims to minister adequately to the urban community for such selections tend to be purely personal rather than purpose-centered.[1]

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[1] Stotts, op. cit., p. 253.

Thus the church as a secondary institution, while not theoretically identical with a *Gesellschaft* society, does have traits that are identical with it. The Church needs to pioneer in adapting to this type of institution and society its basic ministries. In terms of our leadership concern, this means a skilled leadership whether enacted or crescive. In any case it will mean that even though a group is *Gemeinschaft* with crescive leadership, such leadership will be required by the very nature of *Gesellschaft*-secondary institutional characteristics to be skilled in whatever *assumed* roles it takes.

2. NECESSITIES RELEVANT TO CURRENT AND EMERGING LEADERSHIP ROLES

We turn now to selected aspects of the *Gesellschaft* society in order to evaluate current roles and emerging roles of the Negro Baptist Church and its leadership. Fundamentally, this analysis is based on the characteristic of the *Gesellschaft* urban community as a rationally, purposive and teleological society and its effect on the church as a social institution, on the forms of race relations and cooperative Christianity. We may conveniently discuss them as the organizational, integration, and ecumenical necessities.

1. *Organizational necessities*. In this section the sub-thesis is that there are organizational pressures in the *Gesellschaft* structure to which some type of adjustment has

to be made. The question of concern is as follows: to what extent has the Negro Baptist Church and its ministry recognized the necessity?

In terms of their recognition and awareness one young pastor, commenting on the recreational needs of youth, said "If we don't do something about it soon, there will be no Baptist church in the next twenty-five years." Other ministers recognized the organizational problem indirectly in their criticisms of leadership. It appeared that many of the ministers were trying to communicate their concern over the many losses due to lack of organization.

The greatest indication of the organizational needs was found in the ministers' visions of the future. It might be recalled that the majority were concerned with developing facilities and programs. Although many of them were conceived in terms of independent action, they were concerned with organization. This concern, however, is a latent, not a manifest fact. In other words, if the ministers were to achieve the things they desired, there would have to arise more and stronger organizations than they recognized.

It might be wondered as to why the denominational structure was not mentioned more often. The Illinois area has quite a bit of tradition in denominational organization. Historically, the Illinois Baptist convention grows out of the second oldest Negro Baptist Association in the United

States. The Wood River Baptist Association was organized in 1840. However, although this Association possessed long years of experience, it was not observed to be very effective in organization. In fact, it was not possible to secure a reliable listing of the total number of churches in the area claiming membership in the Association.

Probably the greatest indicator of the organizational need is in the apparent success of the Roman Catholic Church among Negroes in the urban North. This observer discovered substantially the same as Cayton and Drake concerning the trend to Catholicism:

> Interviews with Negro Catholics, and with non-Catholics whose children go to parochial schools seem to indicate that one of the primary attractions of the Catholic Church is it educational institutions. With the public schools running on double shifts during those years many parents felt that the parochial school offered a more thorough education in a quieter atmosphere with adequate discipline and personal attention for all students.[1]

The success of the Roman Catholic Church has been due to their organized approach and facilities. As Cayton and Drake indicate

> The Catholic approach to the Negroes has been aided by the establishment of a small community house, by the extensive athletic program of the Catholic Youth organization, and by the forthright

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[1] Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p. 413.

> stand against race prejudice taken by the auxilliary Bishop of the Chicago diocese. In 1944, the Catholics purchased the most imposing piece of church property in Bronzeville — Sinai Temple, a wealthy Jewish synagogue — and converted it into a school and community center.[1]

One of the indications of the organizational necessities and especially of the relevance of the ministerial role concerned occurred in connection with the Sinai Temple. Various informants told the investigator that the initial offer of the synagogue was made to the Negro Baptists. This was confirmed in the Chicago Baptist Association yearbook for 1943. It was stated in the yearbook that the synagogue was offered and that the Negro churches had pledged upwards of $25,000. It was hoped that the facilities could be used for a weekday program as well as a suitable home for a church. However the Negro Baptists did not successfully complete the transaction. Reasons for this unsuccessful attempt were conflicting and there was no reliable printed source containing information on the matter. Informants indicated, however, that one factor causing the loss of the synagogue was the "bickering among the preachers as to who would get the credit - and while they bickered the Catholics got it." Whether this was one of the important factors or not, it was observed that several laymen held the opinion that personal jealousy, poor

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1. Ibid., p. 413.

management, and lack of concerted effort were important causes in the failure to secure the institutional facilities of Sinai Temple on the Southside of the city.

Against the background of the role conceptions of the ministers who were mostly concerned with institutional facilities, this incident is interesting. In a way it appears to confirm the analysis of the investigator, to the effect that the ministers were highly independent. Moreover, it seems to indicate that the criticisms of the leadership had some validity. It is very clear that the success of enterprises in the urban community requires organized action.

Still another indication of the problems and needs for organization among the Chicago Negro Baptists can be seen in the efforts to secure facilities for a denominational approach to the needs of the total community. Three pastors showed concern for a cooperative, organized approach to the needs of the community. In each case they spoke of a proposed Illinois Baptist Center designed to meet such needs. The design of the program was very wide. The purpose was as follows:

> The purpose is to promote an association for the Christian advancement of the youth and the social progress of all people regardless of race, color or creed.[1]

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1. The Baptist Record 7, (June, 1954), p. 3.

There were a number of suggested activities covering twelve areas: religious, with worship including released time religious instruction; children and youth; musical, with instructional work for individuals and groups; cultural, including academic courses in English, sociology, philosophy, etc; speech; special interest and special service such as a convalescent home, a day nursery and a baby clinic; employment agencies; civic with community development and human relations, and social teas, banquets and formal and informal gatherings.[1] This is quite an extensive program. It is questionable whether all of this could be achieved in one center, especially when the organization was just beginning. In any case, this represented the concern of a few men for an organized approach to the community needs.

The various and conflicting comments which the observer received from the ministers in reference to this proposed project again indicated the problems and the needs of organization among the Chicago Negro Baptist leadership. The general reaction was one of skepticism; this may have been soundly based on past experience. The significant point, however, was that the discussion revolved around personalities. This appeared to confirm the various reports indicating some factors involved in the loss of the monumental synagogue referred to above. Respondents said that "a crook's at the head of it," and "it'll never become a reality". In very few cases did the respondents speak to the need involved; they spoke instead of personalities.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Before the Chicago study was completed the facilities for the Illinois Baptist Center were purchased on the Southside. This was told to the investigator by the chairman of the committee concerned. Even in this case, however, it was noted that ministers continued to express doubt that the property had actually been purchased. In some cases they speculated as to "how much the preachers got out of it."

This incident calls to attention serious questions about the future of the Baptists in the large urban places. There are pressures for organized approaches to community needs that are inherent in the nature of urbanism as a way of life. The ministers are quite confused as to their roles; they would like to meet the community needs with the proper institutional facilities but there appear to be factors of personality located either in training or the lack of it, that effectively deny the cooperative approach to community needs. Yet *the latent factors involved in the Negro Baptist conception of his institutional role requires cooperative action*. Moreover, it requires representative action, or agents who must act for the group. Furthermore, it involves *role specialization*. All of Protestantism must accept this aspect of the *Gesellschaft* society but especially the Negro

Baptists. Many of the ministers recognized educational roles, recreational roles, and administrative roles. Yet each of these needs a separate organized existence and specialized role for each. To some extent these ends can be attained through cooperation with the YMCA and YWCA organizations, although, in a rapid, largely populated city like Chicago, additional facilities are needed to meet the need.

Efforts to explain this problem of recognized institutional needs, amid the lack of an appraisal of the organizational necessities which have to be recognized, raises the question of the compatibility of congregational polity with the Gesellschaft society and institutions. The question may not be one alone of the type of polity but of the manifestations of that polity in a segregated Negro church. Does the problem neglect institutional segregation more than it does the incompatibility of congregational polity? Cayton and Drake make a comment with which the writer of this dissertation concurs. Referring to the subjective acceptance of institutional segregation by Negroes, the authors say it must not be confused with certain objective facts:

> ...(1) that white people, in general, have a tendency to view the separate Negro institutional life with a certain amount of amused condescension and patronizing curiosity; (2) that under present conditions, segregated institutions are actually inferior in economic and social power; (3) that social isolation results in distorted perspectives

> and personality development. There are some gains to the total culture, resulting from segregation — distinctive contributions to the arts and to literature; but against these superficial gains must be set the cost in ignorance, poverty, and resentment.[1]

Thus the problem is located in the inferior economic and social power of the Negro church. The solution appears to be that of an integrated approach. Although the independent Negro church has served and still serves an important function in its capacity of being "the local outpost of the Kingdom" in the Negro community, the urbanization of that community especially in the urban North brings it into areas where the political and social structures in its organizational demands require cooperative action rather than the independent religious activity to which it was early adapted.

That the organizational necessities of the Gesellschaft society are integrative, calling for responses personally and institutionally compatible with organized or institutionalized activity can be seen in the further development of this chapter. This is precisely the nature of the organized protest and welfare activity in integration or race relations in the urban North. We turn next to a discussion of the nature of the integration roles of the urban Negro minister.

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1. Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p. 122.

ii. Integration necessities. The Negro church and the Negro minister initially carried the protest or the negative integration roles in the Negro community. By 1830, however, the Negro church gave way to other forms of organized movements concerned with the status of the Negro. In that year the "convention movements" were organized and the Negro churches played a dominant role. This movement was organized to protest the efforts of the American Colonization Society to colonize free Negroes in Africa. It is significant, however that the early Negro minister played integration roles both in the church and in the new forms of social movements arising among Negroes.

By 1906 the integration roles, or the protests against the low status, included other Negro intelligentsia. In that year W. E. B. DuBois organized the Niagara Movement which sought to speak to America for full rights for the Negro in protest to Booker T. Washington who was felt to be compromising with the South. The movement did not continue long due to lack of funds. It did bring the Negro minister, however, into contact with a rising functional leadership. In 1908 a race riot in Springfield, Illinois dramatized the insecurity of the Negro and led eventually to an interracial approach to civil liberties in the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By 1911, there came into existence another organization, the National

League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, later shortened to National Urban League. This organization was concerned with the social welfare of Negroes during the mass migrations. With the founding of these two organizations, the Negro minister's roles in integration were made less exclusive and demanded the ability and the willingness to cooperate with other functional agencies.

The dramatic incident initiating the formation of the NAACP points to a new type of violence in race relations, which affects the nature of the integration role of the Negro minister. That new form is the race riot. The ability to retaliate, which the Negro has in the urban North, points to the integration roles which the ministry can play in appealing as best it can to the Christian orientation of the Negro community, and motivating them to ways of protest consistent with Christianity.

It happens that part of the violence involves the clashes centering around labor. It is in the North that the Negro moves into a new labor situation. For one thing he joins the unions. These labor groups contain large numbers of foreign-born, who themselves are in an insecure position. In time some type of violence and conflict results. The Negro minister has a responsibility to be aware of these conflicts, and beyond that to make a contribution to the union activity of their members. He can best do this by motivating those who are involved in the labor movement in the Christian dimension.

The integration role of the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers was not mentioned very often by the respondents. It may be that many took this question for granted with the observer. It is surprising that more mention was not made of it for during the study, the Trumball Park[1] riots were in process. There was practically no mention of this in the interviews.

An interview with one of the officials in the Urban League revealed that the ministers' integration role was poorly filled. It was reported that the ministers, especially those of the larger churches, rarely participated in the League programs. This reference was made specifically to certain "block parties" sponsored by the League. It was pointed out that the "storefront" ministers were much more cooperative, although the number was still smaller than was expected.

One of the problems in the integration role of the Negro minister is the extent to which he can cooperate with other functional leadership. This leadership tends to be professionally trained in the fields of law for the NAACP and in the field of social work for the Urban League. Thus

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1. A housing project in the far South Side of Chicago around 105th Street.

the integration roles which were previously dominated by the Negro minister is not only being taken over by other persons, but by persons whose professional training is far above that of the average Negro urban minister.

The problem is intensified when the psychological reasons are added. The Negro minister as we have seen was among the first leaders of the Negro community. With the rise of other leaders there is jealousy. We have attempted to explain this as due to the aspects of limited alternatives for the exercise of leadership as well as to the "basic personality" which reflects certain family patterns of Negro life, conditioned by the social environment in which he has had to live.

This poses a special kind of problem, because the Negro minister is still the main means of communication in the Negro community. Hunter[1] has found that while the Negro minister is not in the top echelon of power leaders, he does play an important communication role with and to the masses. It seems important therefore that the Negro minister recognizes his integration role so as to help make his message relevant. This seems especially important in view of recent Supreme Court decisions.

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[1] F. Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

iii. Ecumenical necessities. The nature of and the failure of the Negro church to meet the organizational necessities of the Gesellschaft society draws attention to the resources of institutionalized ecumenical Christianity. This movement, too, arose from the pressures of organization with regard to the manifold problems growing out of industrialization and urbanization. It was discovered that the task of an effective ministry could not be fulfilled by independent ministerial nor institutional roles. It was a cooperative task. The response of Protestantism to these organization necessities has issued in the cooperative Christianity movement. It would appear from the actual experience in which the Negro religious community is dependent upon the financial resources of the white community, and in which the independent response to the organizational needs is meeting with failure, that the Negro community requires the services of Co-operative Christianity.

This requirement has been recognized in recent years by the Chicago Church Federation. This organization conducted a study in 1955 to determine the strategy of the Protestant community in the Bronzeville area in the light of the urban redevelopment programs. These programs constituted special problems to the Negro churches, especially the Negro Baptists, since many of them were in "storefronts" which had to be removed for the purpose of urban redevelopment. The only churches considered for exemption in an area were those in conventional type buildings. In its study the Federation discovered some of the unique needs and problems of the churches in the metropolitan segregated community. These needs were reported by Fukuyama in a recent article in The City Church.[1] The study confirmed the view of the Negro church as an expression and reflection of the Negro community, as an ethnic group largely of Southern rural background, and of a residentially segregated group. Residential segregation, inequalities in education, work and play, and the large rate of in-migration from the rural South, all constitute causes for the segregation in the religious life of the Negro. The segregated religious life of the Negro covers a heterogenous rather than a homogeneous group calling for diversified services necessary to minister to wide ranges of need. Fukuyama advances the thesis that since this group is largely Protestant and tends to be characterized by an independent church without national resources for financial assistance in its work, there is a need for exploration of the feasibility of establishing a church extension fund for those churches which have little or no loan funds available on the national level.[2] He says:

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[1] Yoshio Fukuyama, The City Church 7(March-April 1956) p. 6-8 "Co-operative Protestantism and the Negro Churches."

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

> There is one area heretofore untouched by cooperative Protestantism - and this is to appraise and help meet the needs of churches located in residentially segregated areas of the inner city. We need not compromise our concern for integration. The adjective "Negro" and "White" used in reference to Christian churches are theologically untenable. However, these adjectives are sociologically descriptive of what is, and Protestant strategy must be made relative to what is as well as to what ought to be."[1]

Fukuyama discovered that the pattern of churches in Chicago was not fundamentally a comity problem — it had been determined by the pattern of Protestant and Jewish structures which were being bought by the Negro congregations. The main problem of the Negro churches was a lack of adequate space. This is revealed in our data on the visions of the Negro Baptist ministers. Most of them wanted larger facilities. The problem was that they could not adequately house all of the members. In attempting to meet the needs the Negro minister was handicapped by a lack of cumulative experience in well-organized church extension programs as well as by a lack of adequate funds. Fukuyama mentions another problem of the Negro minister in cooperative Christianity that bears directly upon what we have here listed as an organizational necessity. He says: "the local churches which he [the Negro minister] represents are generally highly independent and beyond his control and supervision."[1] This causes the minister to face difficult problems in securing funds for meeting the needs of the church. Consequently in many cases, he borrows heavily from "loan sharks", who charge as high as 28 per cent interest as well as hold the rights of sub-contracting, thereby making an unusually high profit on the financial transaction. The result is that the Negro churches in their efforts to meet their institutional program needs enter financial transactions placing extra burdens upon their congregations.

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[1] Ibid., p. 7.

In the light of this situation Fukuyama proposed to the Federation that an extension fund be established for the purpose of meeting the financial needs of the Negro churches in residentially segregated areas. This plan was approved in principle by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago as one of seventeen projects for a long-range twenty year program for the development of Protestantism in metropolitan Chicago.[2]

This would seem to be evidence for the needs for ecumenical roles in the Gesellschaft society and institutions, which must be filled. In so far as the Negro is predominantly Protestant, the total community must participate in, and the Negro church and ministry must respond to, ecumenical roles, if the church is to keep a "local outpost of the Kingdom" in the city. It has been indicated that the Negro population in its urbanization is concentrated in the central cities. This ministry of cooperative Protestantism, then, is a vital need.

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[1] Ibid., p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

There is a requirement, however, for fulfilling the ecumenical role. Certainly in the case of our study, it will mean the ability to cooperate as a denomination, before effective participation can be effected in the institutionalized cooperative ecumenical movement. It might well be that the lack of the type of analysis such as the Chicago Federation has indicated above has been a major reason for the lack of recognition of the ecumenical roles of the Gesellschaft community. This may explain why the Negro ministers made only one reference to it. Then too, the explanation of the participation by the two Negro ministers is probably related to their ability and motivations based on training and status needs. Nevertheless the expressed desires of the Negro ministers in Chicago will require the ecumenical roles such as described above. In fact, increasingly his role will be more related to the ecumenical roles. His integration roles will increasingly have to be put in the context of spiritual integration.

SUMMARY

Urban change involves a crisis of migration, mobility, transplanting of local cultures, cultural shocks which have in the Gesellschaft society caused wide ranges or responses. The nature of secondary institutional life necessitates organized activity. In the Negro community this first issued in the Negro church. Being the first indigenous social institution, the role of the Negro minister was prominent in all leadership channels. The minister early had an integration role, based in his leadership in the formation of independent Negro churches and later in his participation in Negro secular protest organizations. But the impact of the Gesellschaft urban northern areas gave rise to organized legal and social welfare services for the Negro. These organizations became professionalized, with the result that not only did the nature of the Negro integration roles change, they also gave way to trained functional leadership. The peculiar nature of race relations and ecclesiastical relations in the secondary institutional life of the Gesellschaft urban community has constituted new roles or elaboration of roles for the Negro minister. In integration roles the action is professionalized, with organized methods of approaching characteristic urban north manifestations of race relations, such as housing, and race riots. In the theological dimension, institutionalized ecumenical Christianity has an ecumenical role which the minister must play, to preserve Protestantism in the inner city.

In Chapter II, it was seen that the Negro is concentrated in central cities. In this concentration, with its dwindling white residence, Protestantism is represented by the Negro community. While all of Protestantism has responsibility for the ministry to the inner city, it is the Negro minister, whose ecumenical role today is vital to the preservation of Protestantism in the cities of America. His task in the residentially segregated areas of American cities cannot be done alone; he does not have adequate financial resources. In this sense the independent Negro church must possess an organization compatible with institutionalized ecumenical Christianity.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to determine the role of the urban Negro minister using ideal-type sociological theory as a frame of reference as defined and modified by his characteristics and conceptions as well as by the role expectations of laymen and the situational characteristics of the environment. The conclusions can be given in two sections: first, the general findings stated in terms of the ideal-type frame of reference; second, the discussion of the extent to which the hypothesis was validated.

1. GENERAL FINDINGS

i. Twelve per cent of the Negro population in the 1950 census resided in communities with populations from 1 to 2 million. This Negro proportion, with the exception of the rural farm proportion of 14 per cent, was the largest. This means that the fortunes of the Negro community have become associated with the urban communities. Occupationally the jobs of Negroes become different from the traditional ones of the South and in cities from 1 million and above are more like the jobs of the whites. The indices of social disorganization, however, increase in the urbanization process as reflected in the rates of the Negro community in Chicago, Illinois. Although there is a rise in status for the Negro, the factor of color constitutes an important influence in his concentration in central cities and his concentration within small spaces within those cities. Color is more important than his place of origin. Theoretically this means that Gemeinschaft pressures remain, if they do not increase, due to the association of status with color, resulting in limitations and frustrations. This intensifies race consciousness, which produces cues for crescive if not charismatic leadership.

ii. It was the Gemeinschaft pressures, the growing sense of common fate, or race consciousness, that produced the independent Negro church among the free Negroes in the urban North. This crescive leadership became identified with a total folk culture when it spread to the South following the Civil War. Consequently, it was a crescive ministerial leadership which the Negro migrants or the folk Negroes brought to the urban North during the Great Migration of the early 1900's.

iii. The characteristics of the Chicago Negro Baptist ministers reflect the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft interplay. First, the majority were from six southern states, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas and Alabama. These are among the more agricultural states. Second, the interplay can be seen in the generally low educational level of the Negro Baptist ministers. Actually, our findings were the same for the Chicago Baptist ministers as those discovered by Mays and Nicholson of the urban Negro ministry in the 1930's; nearly three out of four (72.3 per cent) ministers were without academic degrees of any kind. In fact, the percentage was exactly the same for the 130 Chicago ministers (72.3 per cent). This probably reflects the continued high rate of in-migration and the existence of continued sources of Gemeinschaft-rural orientations into the Negro religious community of Chicago.

iv. In terms of his sensitivity to community problems, the Chicago Negro Baptist minister was crescive, clearly reflecting the problems and characteristics of his people. The problems of housing and urban adjustment were clearly perceived as the major problems and coincided with the findings of sociological studies. In his role conceptions, however, the minister was found to conceive of various roles most of which were assumed. The main components in the laymen's ascribed roles were character, preaching and pastoring. The minister's conceptions focused on the assumed roles of "building" and administering an institutional church and program. The laymen did not mention the building role; in fact, a few commented that the community facilities already possessed by some ministers are not used. Thus, while the ministers in their conceptions of administration roles were consistent with their recognition of problems, they were not ascribed these roles by the laymen. In terms of actual performance, the ministers were in line with ascribed roles, for they majored on preaching.

2. FINDINGS RELEVANT TO THE HYPOTHESIS

i. The urbanization of the Negro community involves a transplanted folk culture. This is partly indicated by the historical presentation of the impact of the urban North upon the religious activity of Negro migrants. One of the manifestations of the folk culture is the resultant rise of "storefront" and cult groups due to the "cultural shock". The extent to which this fact makes for Gemeinschaft pressures upon leadership roles can be seen in the low level of education among the Chicago Negro Baptist ministry, as well as in the rise of cult groups.

ii. The lack of role clarity among the Negro Baptist ministry is seen not in terms of the problems they recognized, for recognition was given to what has been sociologically found to be the major problems such as housing and adjustment to urban life. The lack of role clarity on the part of the minister is found primarily in the fact that while they idealized cooperation and organization in their criticisms, they conceived of their ideal roles, their visions of the future, in terms of independent action. Moreover, lack of role clarity was evident in the tendency of the minister to assume a building or administrative role, while the lay adults and lay youth, thought of the ministers' role in terms of his character and his preaching and pastoring duties.

iii. The acute needs for a trained ministry can be seen in the impact on the social characteristics of the Negro community as it becomes urbanized. Indices of rising status are in education and occupation; indices of social disorganization are in housing and social welfare level. In both instances, a trained ministry is needed in order to be flexible enough to adjust to these two extremes. There is a need for a crescive type of leadership that is skilled in manipulating the ascribed, assumed, symbiotic and crisis roles. Crisis roles dominate in the Gesellschaft social structure according to the leadership typology of Stotts. The mobility involved in the status rise, as well as the cultural shock involved in the increasing social disorganization require the fulfilling of crisis roles.

iv. The necessities of the Gesellschaft social structure and the church as a social institution within it, require certain organizational features which the Chicago Negro Baptist churches and their leadership do not recognize. Evidence of this failure is in the fact that while the ministers idealized cooperation and organization indirectly in their criticisms, they actually conceived their future or ideal roles in terms of independent action. The validity of this conclusion from their interviews and actions, is apparently established by the failure of the Baptists to secure the institutional facilities of a large Jewish Temple, which the Roman Catholics eventually secured, although it was originally offered to the Negro Baptists. Moreover, the current criticisms of efforts to establish an Illinois Baptist Center for purposes of meeting the social welfare needs of the area, indicated lack of awareness of the organization necessities of urban social structure. This lack of cooperation in regard to their own program forecasts the problem in the performance of ecumenical roles. This role was not recognized except for the reference of one respondent and two ministers who were observed to be active participants. That the role is a challenge and a need is indicated by the complaints of the pastors about the "loan sharks" and the findings of the Chicago Federation of the need for the support of the independent churches like the Baptists in the residentially segregated areas of the metropolitan areas by a Church Extension fund especially established for that purpose. While all of Protestantism has responsibility for the ministry to the inner city, it is the Negro minister, whose ecumenical role today is vital to the preservation of Protestantism in the cities of America. His task in the residentially segregated areas of American cities cannot be done alone; he does not have adequate financial resources. In this sense the independent Negro church must possess an organization compatible with institutionalized ecumenical Christianity.

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THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE URBAN NEGRO MINISTER

Abstract

The purpose and procedure. This dissertation has sought to determine some of the characteristics of the leadership role of the Protestant Negro minister in the light of the urbanization of the Negro community. The study uses the characteristics, role conceptions and role expectations of Chicago Negro Baptist ministers and laymen as illustrative content and Ideal-type sociological theory as an interpretative framework.

The hypotheses. The dissertation examines five hypotheses: (1) The ministerial leadership role will in its early stages be more closely related to Gemeinschaft characteristics because the urbanization involved takes place in a transplanted folk culture. (2) The role images and role expectations will reflect this urban-folk conflict and in doing so will lack role clarity. (3) The impact of urbanization upon the social characteristics of the Negro community will create a situation in which the needs for trained leadership become acute. (4) The institutional structure of the Negro church in becoming urbanized will have gained independence but needs a type of organization compatible with

institutionalized ecumenical Christianity. (5) An analysis of the Negro churches in Chicago reflects this fourfold sociological condition.

The conclusions: The findings relative to the hypotheses are: (1) The Gemeinschaft orientations located in the developing race consciousness among free Negroes in the urban North prior to the Civil War, and the "cultural shock" of the Negro migrants beginning with World War I, have served to establish leadership in the urban ministry as a crescive type with a predominance of crisis roles. (2) The characteristics and role conceptions of current urban Negro ministers may be understood in this context. The Chicago Negro Baptist ministers, for example, are crescive leaders, reflecting such factors as their Southern background (81 per cent of 135 interviewed are from six Southern states) and low professional educational attainment (72.3 per cent of 130, the exact percentage that Mays and Nicholson discovered of 591 urban Negro ministers in the early 1930's, do not possess any kind of academic degree). Moreover, their role conceptions revolve around the crises of urbanization. Seventy-four of one hundred responses with respect to actions, if resources were unlimited, pertained to "building" and "buying" facilities in which to institute programs to meet community problems such as housing and urban adjustment. (3) Lay expectations are characterized by demands for preaching, "pastoring" and character roles. The youth, especially expected the minister to be rather than to do. On the whole the laymen were able to state their criticisms more clearly than their role expectations. (4) Urban crises center around race consciousness and social disorganization. Around these problems two types of organization and professional leadership have developed: the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The ministerial leadership as a part of community leadership needs to recognize such professional leadership and organized activity as a necessity of Gesellschaft social structure. (5) Problems are posed for the urban church and its ministry by the difficulties of concerted action, the threats of urban redevelopment programs and the needs of social welfare. The independent Negro churches, especially those with congregational type polities, need the facilities of ecumenical Christianity adequately to represent Protestantism in the inner city. The Chicago Church Federation has recently voted to establish a Church Extension Fund for the needs of urban churches in their ministry to the inner city without the aid of national organizations. The role conceptions of the leadership of many of these independent churches and the role expectations of the laymen need increasingly to become more compatible with institutionalized ecumenical Christianity.

Autobiography

The writer was born in Temple, Texas on July 2, 1923. In 1939, he graduated from the Dunbar High School in Temple and went immediately to Samuel Huston (now Huston-Tillotson) College in Austin, Texas, where he graduated cum laude in 1943. In this same year, he entered Boston University School of Theology. During October of 1943, he became the student-pastor of the Colored Congregation of Morgan Memorial Church of All Nations in Boston, a position which he held until his graduation with the S.T.B. degree from Boston University School of Theology in 1946.

In 1946, he received his Deacons Ordination in the Methodist Church. In the same year he began a full-time staff relationship with the Morgan Memorial Church of All Nations in Boston. In 1949, he was united in marriage with Elizabeth Pinder Bailey of Providence, R.I. In September of the same year, he became the interim pastor of the Pond Street Baptist Church in Providence while pursuing doctoral studies. In 1954, the writer was the director of a field study of the Negro Baptist Ministry in Chicago sponsored by a joint committee of the two National Baptist Conventions (the Incorporated and the Unincorporated), the American Baptist Convention, and the Chicago Baptist Association. In 1956, the writer served in the part-time capacity as the Co-ordinator of Student Life and Activities in the School of Theology of Boston University.